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ANDREW HOFER.

From an Original Drawing.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

ANDREW HOFER;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRANSACTIONS IN THE TYROL
DURING THE YEAR 1809.

TAKEN FROM THE GERMAN.

By CHARLES HENRY HALL, Esq.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1820.

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PREFACE.

"The History of Hofer" was first printed at Leipsig in the year 1817. It is an anonymous publication, but it has been conjectured, and not without reason, that it is the production either of Baron Hormayr, one of the most active leaders of the Tyrolese patriots, or of some person in his confidence, whom he supplied with materials for the work. It is evidently the production of a man, who, if not an actor himself in the scenes which he describes, was at least intimately connected with those who were. There can be no question about the authenticity of his facts, they are

supported throughout by the authority of original documents, and the minuteness of his details impresses upon them the character of truth, although they may be devoid of interest to the reader, when they relate to individuals of humble origin and station and unknown beyond the limits of their native mountains.

It may perhaps appear extraordinary to the reader, that in a book which professes to be the History of Hofer, Hofer should play so subordinate a part. Whatever blame may be attached to this contradiction between the title and the subject of these few pages, must in justice be thrown on the original, as I could give no more than what my materials gave me, though I certainly was not without suspicion that in more than one instance, the fame of Hofer had been sacrificed by the writer, to that of his more fortunate rival Hormayr. We have

seen, however, in some famous poems and popular novels, that the hero scarcely shows his face till the last page, where he is either killed or married; and here we have a history of real facts, in which the appointed hero does little more than his imaginary brethren. I fear that the character of Hofer would have stood higher in our eyes, if this translation of his memoirs had never appeared; but as the discovery of truth is of much more importance than the excitement of fictitious interest, perhaps I may not be totally undeserving of thanks for having attempted to make the true character of the Tyrolese Chief familiar to the English public.

In point of composition the original is materially defective, it wants that which is the first and greatest merit in all compositions—lucid arrangement. The order of time is not observed, and the atten-

tion is distracted by a variety of collateral and adventitious circumstances which impede the progress of the main story. I have therefore thought myself at liberty to deviate in several instances from the course of the original, for the sake of maintaining the consistency and uniformity of the narrative.

Some apology I also think it necessary to make for the paraphrastic character of the translation. The truth is, the style of the German author is so perplexed and intricate, so loaded with metaphor and poetical imagery, and in many places so very harsh and obscure, that a literal English translation would be perfectly unintelligible. I am however persuaded, that if I have been compelled to desert my author in his language, I have faithfully adhered to him in his sense and meaning; and that, without having made any essential alteration in his

character, I have endeavoured to present him to the public in a more pleasing dress, and a form more likely to engage attention.

It may perhaps be said that the time for such a publication is gone by, and that the achievements of Hofer and his companions are forgotten,—but this is not so. It will be long indeed before the events of the revolutionary war, in which every power in Europe was more or less engaged, have ceased to excite a lively interest in our minds; although the storm is passed, we still listen with anxious solicitude to a recital of its ravages; and at all events it is impossible to contemplate the period, however remote, when the struggles of a virtuous and patriotic nation to recover its ancient and legitimate rights, shall cease to interest a free, loyal, and generous people.

INTRODUCTION.

In every age, the passions of mankind—attempts to resist what cannot be avoided—unforeseen events—a distress, whether real or imaginary—have produced Political Revolutions. To whatever cause such convulsions are to be attributed, when the impulse is once given, thousands feel, think, and act as one man. With passions, perhaps, raging and tumultuous as the ocean in a storm, they become calm and silent when they hear the voice of their leader.—They follow blindly when he calls.—It appears then as if a whole people had but one will, and one power, one head, one heart, and one arm. And if no private ends of ambition or avarice are to be gratified, it is immaterial what may have been the origin or the circumstances of the person whom they choose for their guide. Birth, high station, or opulence, are not necessary to procure him adherents; the recollection

of former insignificance is lost in the admiration of present heroism.—Tell, the deliverer of Switzerland and the idol of his countrymen, was, a simple mountain shepherd—Gustavus Vasa was for a time, a miner—and Andrew Hofer, the renowned chief of the Tyrolese patriots, was the landlord of a village inn.

The character of this celebrated man,—his incorruptible honesty, his tenacious adherence to the religion and customs of his ancestors, and, above all, the piety and humility which he displayed during the success of 1809, in which he bore so conspicuous a part, give him the most indisputable claim to our admiration; nor will this admiration be diminished when we recollect the meanness of his origin, the little education he had received, and the confined circle in which his early life had been passed. We are not prepared by such recollections for the talent and firmness which he exhibited at a moment so unfortunate and yet so glorious for his country; or for the extraordinary skill and management by which he kept together his patriotic countrymen (with a degree of secrecy that appears almost incredible), even after peace was finally concluded between France and Austria.

For the better comprehension, however, of the conduct both of Hofer and his countrymen,

it will be necessary to take a brief view of the Tyrol—of its natural and political situation, and of its history in modern times.

The country now known by the name of the Tyrol, (a name derived originally from Teriolis, an ancient castle in the valley of Venosta,) was the ancient Vindelicia. At the destruction of the Roman empire it fell into the hands of the Goths, and afterwards became successively the property of the Lombards, the Franks, the Bavarians, and Austrians.

The whole country is divided into ten districts, and its population, including the bishopricks of Trent and Brixen, and the Vorarlberg, amounts to 700,000 souls. It is divided by three regular chains of mountains. The Brenner, which is situated between Innspruck and Sterzing, being as it were the centre from which they branch off. These mountains, though their summits are covered with perpetual snow, are notwithstanding rich in a great variety of natural productions—in many of the vallies corn is brought to great perfection, particularly in the Vintsghau and Pusterthal, and in some of them are to be found chesnuts and vines, and the most delicious fruits of Italy.

During the interval between ancient and modern history, which is usually called "The

Middle Ages," the Tyrol was distributed amongst a variety of petty lords, spiritual and temporal, Italian and German. It was for the interest of the Emperors of Germany, that this state of things should continue: for so long as it subsisted, they could march their armies, whenever it was their wish to do so, both to and from Italy without opposition. In the time of Rodolph of Hapsburg, Mainhard, Count of Goerz and Tirol, was the first who gained ascendancy in this mountainous region. He appears to have been a person of distinguished abilities, and was one of the principal instruments in the elevation of Rodolph to the throne of the empire.

It is not easy at this day to ascertain the precise boundaries of Mainhard's possessions, nor is it worth while to make the attempt. It is sufficient for our purpose to know, that upon the death of Otho II. Duke of Bavaria, when his possessions were divided, the Tyrol, or at least a considerable portion of it, fell to the lot of Count Albert; that Mainhard afterwards obtained it by marriage; and that, in later times, Margaret, called Maultasch, or the great mouth, to whom the property had descended, and who had connected herself by two successive marriages, first with the Princes of Bavaria, and

then with the house of Austria, granted the reversion of her Tyrolese possessions to the Dukes of Austria. This grant was subsequently confirmed by Charles IV. and since that period this province has remained an appanage to the Austrian family. The princes of that house bearing the title of counts of Tyrol.

Of all the princes of that illustrious house, Frederic IV. son of Leopold II. who was killed at the battle of Sempach, appears to have been the first who understood the value, and exerted himself for the improvement of this interesting country. On attaining his majority, he received the Tyrol and its dependencies as his share of the patrimonial inheritance. He was early involved in a war which broke out between the Abbot of St. Gallen and the inhabitants of the canton of Appenzel, and from an auxiliary it was not long before he became a principal in the contest. During the greater part of his life indeed he seems to have been engaged in contests with one or other of his powerful neighbours, and it was not till after repeated defeats and grievous losses, that he became sensible of his error. He then seriously applied himself to the interior administration and government of the Tyrol, and to his exertions it was chiefly owing, that, in defiance of the opposition of the

Pope, the wealthy nobles and prelates, and some of the imperial cities, the Tyrolese were eventually enabled to establish a free constitution.

The form of this constitution resembled that which prevailed in most of the hereditary states of the house of Austria.*

As a source of revenue, the Tyrol was not at any time highly estimated by the Austrian government, although there can be no doubt that considerable profit was occasionally derived from the salt pits at Halle, and the mines of silver and copper at Schwarz; but the princes of that dynasty always looked upon it with higher and better feelings, as a possession for which their ancestors had successfully contended with powerful competitors, and which, in the independent spirit and generous loyalty of its inhabitants, at all events secured to them a firm and impregnable barrier on that side of their dominions.

* The college of the Land Captain consisted of a Land Captain, four Deputies of the estate of Prelates, who were the Provosts of Gneiss and Neustift; the Abbot of Stambs and the Provost of St. Michael; four Deputies of the estate of Knights; the Deputies of the towns of Meran, Botzen, Innspruck, Halle, and Sterzing; and the Deputies from the Judicatories and the Estate of Peasants. The Bishops of Trent and Brixen with their chapters were also members of the land captainship.

The Tyrol has indeed been emphatically called "The shield of Austria."

The Tyrolese in the mean time were devotedly attached to the house of Austria. Amidst the continual dissensions, and the frequent wars by which Europe has been distracted, their fidelity to that house continued unshaken.—Under its mild and temperate sway their ancient rights and privileges were preserved inviolate; even their prejudices were respected; and the natural consequence was, that, whilst other countries were agitated by a restless spirit of innovation and hostility to their existing governments, the Tyrolese remained tranquil and unmoved, desirous of no change, and perfectly satisfied with the freedom which they were permitted to enjoy. With these feelings, and with so decided an attachment to the government of Austria, it is not surprising that when they were transferred to the dominion of Bavaria, they should have felt so deeply the change which took place in their situation.

By the eighth article of the treaty of Presburg which was concluded in the year 1806, the Tyrol and Vorarlberg were given to Bavaria in exchange for the Dutchy of Wurtzburg, on the same conditions, and with the same rights only,

which Austria had possessed when they were subject to that government.

Thus a country which had continued under the dominion of the same power, during the space of four centuries and a half, was transferred to another by a foreign conqueror, without any public act of its own, any formal convocation of its Diet, or any customary homage offered or accepted on either side. It was solemnly promised indeed, by the court of Munich, that the ancient constitution of the Tyrolese should not be violated, that not an iota of it should be changed, that all their rights and immunities should be retained, and that their real interests should be as carefully protected by the Bavarian government as they had been by that of Austria. But all these specious promises were basely violated.

In fact the Bavarians did not understand the temper and character of their new subjects, and by the manner in which they treated them proved themselves unworthy of being their masters. Buonaparte himself did not scruple to avow this opinion to F. M. Count Bubna. "The Bavarians," he said, "did not know how to govern the Tyrolese, and were not worthy to possess that noble country." It seemed, indeed,

as if it were the opinion of the court of Bavaria, that the safest and easiest mode of governing these mountaineers was to oppress, harass, and impoverish them. The system* of vexation which was adopted, irritated to madness a generous people, who were at all times easily controuled by gentleness and kindness; and we cannot wonder that the attachment to their ancient masters, which was so remarkable a feature in their character, should be converted into a deep and irreconcilable hatred of their new ones.

In this state of things, this brave and unfortunate people turned their eyes to the Archduke John, whom they had long looked upon as the patron of their country, and the mediator through whom all their complaints and wishes were to be carried to the Emperor. That prince, in his frequent excursions and rambles through the Tyrol, had become warmly attached to the spirited mountaineers. He had given it as his opinion, that the Tyrol might be made an im-

* The Constitution of Frederic which had lasted for so many ages, was entirely overthrown. The representative states were suppressed; the public funds seized, all ecclesiastical property confiscated; new taxes were levied daily, specie of course became scarce; and the Austrian bond bills were reduced to half their value.

pregnable fortress, and that by proper discipline its inhabitants might be formed into excellent troops; and if the plans which he suggested had been carried into effect, the battle of Austerlitz might not have been so fatal in its consequences. Unhappily he was not attended to.

It was not till the 11th of September, when the French were rapidly advancing from Boulogne towards the Rhine, that the necessity of taking some immediate steps to make amends for this neglect became evident. The Archduke was dispatched into the Tyrol, to repair in a few days the evil consequences of a long system of inattention. On the 10th of October, proclamations were issued to regulate the operations of the armies: on the 14th the surrender of Ulm was known at Elchingen; and at this critical moment the Archduke was recalled from the Tyrol.

It is impossible to account for that blind infatuation, which suffers party spirit, or court intrigues, to operate so far as to deprive a country of its only chance of safety in the hour of extreme peril; but so it was. The Archduke and the Tyrolese deputies separated at Brunnecken, mutually pledging themselves, whenever an opportunity should offer, to hazard every thing for the sake of restoring the Tyrol to its ancient possessors.

It appears that a constant correspondence was afterwards carried on between the Archduke and the Tyrolese patriots, till the very moment that their insurrection broke out. The proximity of the district of Salzburg, whose vallies extend into the heart of the Tyrol, contributed in a great degree to facilitate this intercourse. There can be no doubt that the patriots acted by the advice, and with the concurrence of the Archduke, but he was fated never to return to a people who were so fondly attached to him, and in whose defence, had he been left to himself, he would willingly have taken a most active part.

The character of the Tyrolese is peculiarly interesting. They possess an independent spirit, a love of liberty combined with a love of order, a generous frankness and loyalty, which at this day is rarely to be met with. In every country in Europe the poison of revolutionary principles has more or less contaminated and corrupted national character; but the Tyrolese still retain all their native energy and simplicity: like the inhabitants of all mountainous countries, they naturally acquire from their residences, and from the magnificence of the scenery by which they are surrounded, a habit of thought, reflexion and meditation; but their seriousness

does not degenerate into melancholy. They are naturally a cheerful people, and their cheerfulness is remarkably displayed in the rapture with which they pour forth their national melodies. Their mode of singing is peculiar, passing suddenly from the natural tones of a deep bass voice to the highest falsetto; it bears some resemblance to the horn of the Alpine shepherds.

The wild expression of their song discovers at once that it belongs to men accustomed to wander in the deepest solitudes, whose accents traversing the vallies are caught up and echoed by the herdsmen who inhabit the sides of the opposite mountains.

The Tyrolese are an industrious people: their industry of course acquires a stimulus from their poverty,—their wants, indeed, are few; but few and simple as they are, they could not be supplied without a constant exertion both of ingenuity and labour. They are excellent mechanics, of this numerous instances might be given; but they are not simply mechanics, for some of them have succeeded in those branches of mechanism which proceed from and illustrate the most recondite sciences. Among the most successful of those who have attempted the higher mechanical arts, the celebrated Pierre Anik may be mentioned, who, though a simple herdsman,

is become one of the best geographers in Germany, and has constructed a globe of wonderful perfection, which is to be seen in the castle of Innspruck. Success in the science of mechanics seems, indeed, to be the simple result of innate genius. A man destitute of education, through the force of an observant and reflecting mind, may discover the secrets of nature and apply to purposes of practical utility the means of power and motion presented to him. In a country like the Tyrol, abounding in streams, the inhabitants must of necessity apply to their use the powers of the torrents and rivulets with which each cottage is surrounded. Thus the mountain torrents are seen to fall from step to step, conducted by wooden aqueducts formed in the rudest manner, but whose simple mechanism performs the most important functions of the household. The grinding of corn, the fabrication of oil, the sharpening of tools, the irrigation of meadows, all is performed by the streams, and by the mills which they set in motion. Each peasant has his mill, and having once obtained the disposal of his principle of action, he modifies it according to his industry and his wants.

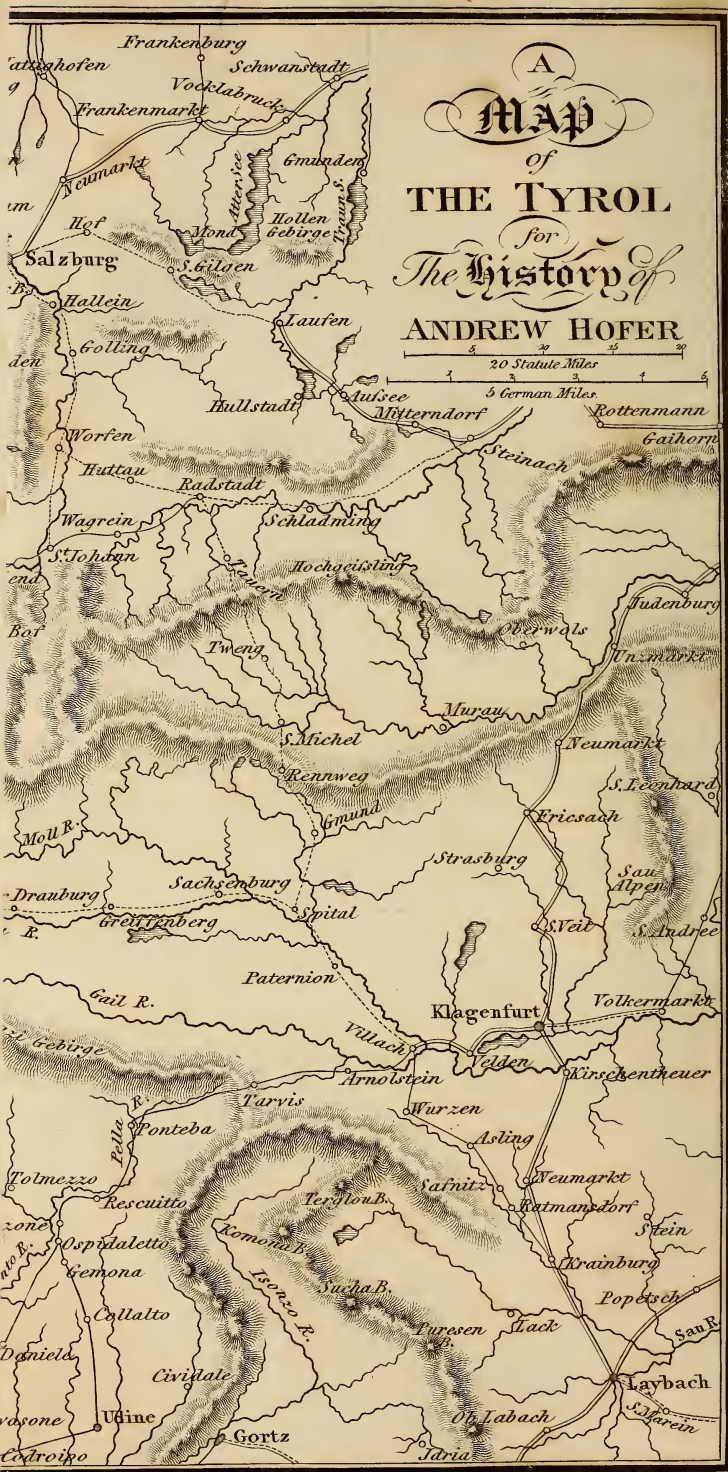
Happily the Tyrolese are once more placed under the dominion of their ancient sovereigns :

it must be the wish of every honest and patriotic mind that they should ever continue so. The nature of the country is admirably calculated to preserve its independence. Under the protection of his own impenetrable fastnesses, the hardy peasant is the best defender of the soil he cultivates; and if he avails himself with skill and promptitude of the advantageous positions which the narrow passes or defiles in his mountains afford him, an invading army may be repelled, not only by fire-arms, but by masses of stone rolled down from the heights under which it must necessarily pass. Experience*

* The following interesting account of Lefevre's expedition against the Tyrol was communicated by a Saxon officer, who was himself a witness of what he describes. "We had penetrated to Innspruck," he says, "without great resistance, and although much was reported about the Tyrolese stationed upon and round the Brenner, we gave little credit to it, thinking the rebels to have been dispersed by a short cannonade, and already considering ourselves as conquerors. Our entrance into the passes of the Brenner was only opposed by small corps, which continued to fall back after an obstinate though short resistance: among others I perceived a man, full eighty years of age, posted against the side of a rock, and sending death among our ranks at every shot; upon the Bavarians descending from behind to make him prisoner, he shouted aloud *Hurrah,* struck the first man to the ground with a ball, seized the second, and with the ejaculation "*In God's name!*" precipitated himself with him into the abyss below. Marching

has proved that this method of defence will be often successful for a time, but it will not be permanently so, and if left entirely to themselves these bold mountaineers might again be compelled to yield to an enemy superior in numbers and military skill; but it is to be hoped that Austria will have profited by the lessons of experience, and that she will never again permit the most attached and faithful of her subjects to be sacrificed for want of that assistance, which it is both her interest and her duty to give them.

onwards, we heard from the summit of a high rock.—"*Stephen, shall I chop it off yet?*" to which a loud "*Nay*" reverberated from the opposite side. This was told to the Duke of Dantzig, who, notwithstanding, ordered us to advance. The van, consisting of 4000 Bavarians, had just stormed a deep ravine, when we again heard over our heads "*Hans! for the most Holy Trinity!*" Our terror was completed by the reply that immediately followed—"*In the name of the Holy Trinity cut all loose above!*" and ere a minute had elapsed, thousands of my comrades in arms were crushed, buried, and overwhelmed by an incredible heap of broken rock, stones and trees, hurled down upon us. *Annual Register for* 1809.


A
Map
of
THE TYROL
for
The History of
ANDREW HOFER
20 Statute Miles
5 German Miles
Frankenburg
Schwanstadt
Vocklabruck
Frankenmarkt
Neumarkt
Gmunden
Hof
Mond
Hollen Gebirge
Salzburg
S. Gilgen
Hallein
Golling
Laufen
Hullstadt
Aussee
Mitterndorf
Rottenmann
Worfen
Gaihorn
Steinach
Huttau
Radstadt
Wagrein
Schladming
St. Johann
Hochgeisling
Judenburg
Twenig
Oberwals
Unzmarkt
Murau
S. Michel
Neumarkt
Rennweg
S. Leonhard
Gmund
Friesach
Moll R.
Strasburg
Sachsenburg
Drauburg
Spital
S. Veit
S. Andree
Greiffenberg
Paternion
Gail R.
Klagenfurt
Volkermarkt
Villach
Velden
Kirschentheuer
Arnolstein
Tarvis
Wurzen
Asling
Pontebba
Tolmezzo
Resciutta
Weumarkt
Ratmannsdorf
Stein
Ospidaletto
Gemona
Krainburg
Popetsch
Cavallo
Sau R.
Osoppo
Cividale
Laybach
Udine
Gortz
Idria
Walker Sculp.

HISTORY

OF

ANDREW HOFER.

ANDREW HOFER was born on the 22d of November, 1767, at the village of St. Leonhard, in the valley of Passeyr;* his mother's maiden

* The Passeyrthal, or Pusterthal, appears from documents in possession of the counts of Eppan, in the early days of the Swabian Emperor, to have belonged to the ancient earls of Tyrol. Margaret Maultasch particularly favoured the inhabitants of this valley, and in the year 1363, a few days before the Tyrol became subject to Austria, gave them the right of pasture on both sides of the Etsch as far as Eisack, (from whence originated the famous trade in horses, which Hofer carried on, as his ancestors had done, with great success,) as well as the privilege of carrying salt, venison, and wine, over the Gaufen; forbidding them, at the same time, to be either molested or imprisoned within the limits of the bishopric of Trent and Brixen.

The valley itself is peculiarly romantic, and has been not

A
Map
of
THE TYROL
for
The History of
ANDREW HOFER
20 Statute Miles
5 German Miles
MÜNCHEN or MUNICH
Inn Riv.
Salzach R.
Pinzgau Thal
Ober Inn Thal
Ober Engadin Unter Engadin
Puster Thal
Pass Scher Thal
Salzburg
Innsbruck
Klagenfurt
Laybach
Roveredo
Trient
Udine
Gortz
Brixen
Botzen
Meran
Lienz
Villach
Judenburg
Neumarkt
Mittewald
Sillian
Niederdorf
Glocknerberg
Tarvis
Gemona
Venzone
Tolmezzo
Pontebba
Caporetto
Sacile
Vordenone
Conegliano
Belluno
Feltre
Primolano
Borgo di Valsugana
Lavis
Salurn
Veumarkt
Brandzoll
Botzen
Deutschen
Klausen
Atzmann
Bormio
Sondrio
Tirano
Idda R.
Oglio R.
Breno
Riva
Arlberg
Plutonz
Imenstadt
Füssen
Reutte
Partenkirch
Lermoos
Seefeld
Telfs
Zirl
Mittenwald
Scharnitz
Walchen See
Isar R.
Kochel See
Benedictbeuren
Murnau
Weilheim
Landsberg
Memmingen
Kempten
Wangen
Bregenz
Lindau
Bodensee
Ravensburg
Wolfegg
Waldsee
Buchau
Biberach
Ochsenhausen
Babenhausen
Mindelheim
Wertach R.
Wurzach
Leutkirch
Eichholz
Holzleuten
Tettnang
Ebratshofen
Wangen
Isnit
Vils R.
Lech R.
Hohenwart
Ober Gustpurg
Schongau
Oberdorf
Polshaupten
Nesselstang
Hohenems
Feldkirch
Glarus
Pfäffers
Ammer See
Wurm Lake
Wurm R.
Amper R.
Isar R.
Inning
Hohen Linden
Haag
Steinhoring
Walserburg
Fraberisheim
Peiss
Wolfertshausen
Aßling
Holzkirchen
Tölz
Miesbach
Weilheim
Murnau
Benedictbeuren
Kochel See
Walchen
Walchen See
Kirchbichl
Kufstein
Kitzbuhel
Zell
Elmau
Fischbach
Neubeurin
Weissenheim
Teisendorf
Traunstein
Frankenmarkt
Vockabruck
Mattighofen
Burghausen
Frankenburg
Schwanenstadt
Laufen
Tittmoning
Laufen
Reichenhall
Berchtolsgaden
Golling
Hallein
Hallen gebirge
Traun R.
Traun See
Ischl
Gmunden
Hallstadt
Mitterndorf
Rottenmann
Gaishorn
Steinach
Worfen
Hutau
Radstadt
Wagrein
Schladming
St Johann
Hochgeistling
Zeno
Bor
Twenig
Glockner B.
Hudenburg
Obervals
Neumarkt
St Michel
Murau
Rennweg
Lienz
Sachsenburg
Ober Drauburg
Spital
Greifenberg
Drau R.
Moll R.
Strasburg
Ericsaah
St Leonhard
Sau Alpen
St Veit
St Andree
Villach
Volkermarkt
Arnolstein
Kirschentheuer
Wurzen
Asling
Veumarkt
Safnitz
Ertmannsdorf
Stein
Krainburg
Popetsch
Sau R.
Laybach
Ob Laibach
Idria
Gail R.
Paternion
Bariant Gebirge
Maina R.
Resciutta
Ospedaletto
Gemona
Callalto
Daniele
Civitale
Tagliamento R.
Isonzo R.
Piave R.
Cordevole R.
Fella R.
Tarvis
Pontebba
Resciutta
Venzone
Tolmezzo
Gemona
Ospedaletto
Callalto
Daniele
Civitale
Udine
Gortz
Caporetto
Idria
Vordenone
Sacile
Feltre
Belluno
Primolano
Borgo di Valsugana
Trient
Lavis
Salurn
Veumarkt
Brandzoll
Botzen
Deutschen
Klausen
Atzmann
Bormio
Sondrio
Tirano
Idda R.
Oglio R.
Breno
Riva
Roveredo
Arlberg
Plutonz
Imenstadt
Füssen
Reutte
Partenkirch
Lermoos
Seefeld
Telfs
Zirl
Mittenwald
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Wertach R.
Wurzach
Leutkirch
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Ebratshofen
Wangen
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Lech R.
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Hallen gebirge
Traun R.
Traun See
Ischl
Gmunden
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Rottenmann
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Worfen
Hutau
Radstadt
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Schladming
St Johann
Hochgeistling
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Neumarkt
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Sachsenburg
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St Leonhard
Sau Alpen
St Veit
St Andree
Villach
Volkermarkt
Arnolstein
Kirschentheuer
Wurzen
Asling
Veumarkt
Safnitz
Ertmannsdorf
Stein
Krainburg
Popetsch
Sau R.
Laybach
Ob Laibach
Idria
Gail R.
Paternion
Bariant Gebirge
Maina R.
Resciutta
Ospedaletto
Gemona
Callalto
Daniele
Civitale
Udine
Gortz
Caporetto
Sacile
Vordenone

HISTORY

OF

ANDREW HOFER.

ANDREW HOFER was born on the 22d of November, 1767, at the village of St. Leonhard, in the valley of Passeyr;* his mother's maiden

* The Passeyrthal, or Pusterthal, appears from documents in possession of the counts of Eppan, in the early days of the Swabian Emperor, to have belonged to the ancient earls of Tyrol. Margaret Maultasch particularly favoured the inhabitants of this valley, and in the year 1363, a few days before the Tyrol became subject to Austria, gave them the right of pasture on both sides of the Etsch as far as Eisack, (from whence originated the famous trade in horses, which Hofer carried on, as his ancestors had done, with great success,) as well as the privilege of carrying salt, venison, and wine, over the Gaufen; forbidding them, at the same time, to be either molested or imprisoned within the limits of the bishopric of Trent and Brixen.

The valley itself is peculiarly romantic, and has been not

name was Maria Aignetleiterin; his father, Joseph Höfer, kept an inn as his ancestors had done for time immemorial.

Hofer was in his forty-seventh year when the insurrection first broke out in the Tyrol; he was of Herculean make, with black eyes and brown hair—he stooped considerably, having been accustomed from his youth to carry heavy burthens over the mountains—in his ordinary walk his knees were bent, but his step though slow was firm—his voice was soft and pleasing—his countenance, though not generally animated, was expressive of great good-humour, particularly when he smiled; when he prayed, his eyes were raised to heaven with the humility and resignation of a Christian.

His education* was superior to that of the

improperly called by Baron Hormayr the Tyrolean Swisserland; it extends from Lienz to Mulbach, a space of nearly ten miles; the lower part is fruitful in corn, but is made so by incredible labour and industry. Its inhabitants, like all mountaineers, are hardy, powerful and energetic, but not free from mistrust and superstition; remote from frequented cities, they have no opportunities of acquiring new ideas, but they cherish with greater fondness those which they have received by inheritance from their forefathers.

* As a proof that he was not deficient in knowledge, it may be remarked, that he was one of the Tyrolese representatives in the Diet of 1790, when the deputies of the Passeyrthal were not a little distinguished.

generality of people in his station of life; and from his frequent intercourse with travellers, as well as from the traffic which he carried on in wine and horses, he had acquired a competent knowledge of the Italian language which he spoke fluently, but in the Venetian dialect; he was popular through the whole country for his integrity, his unaffected religion, his attachment to ancient customs, and his dislike of all innovation.

He wore the dress of his country, with some trifling variation,—a large black hat with a broad brim, adorned with black ribbons, and a black curling feather—a short green coat, red waistcoat over which were green braces, a broad black girdle with a border—short black breeches with red or black stockings, and occasionally boots; he wore a small crucifix with a large silver medal of St. George—to which were afterwards added a large gold medal and chain sent him by the Emperor; it is not true that he ever received the cross of Maria Theresa, or obtained any rank in the Austrian army.

But that which was most remarkable in the appearance of Hofer was his long black beard which reached to his girdle, and which, particularly when he rode on horseback, had an extraordinary effect. It had been an ancient custom

for the innkeepers in these vallies to allow their beards to grow; but Hofer had been principally induced to cherish his in consequence of a wager of two oxen which he had made with some of his friends.

In his disposition he was phlegmatic, fond of ease and tranquillity, averse from every new and rash proceeding, and only to be roused to action by his respect for the ancient customs of his native country. He was cheerful and good tempered, slow in decision, confined in his information, confused in his projects, superstitious like the rest of his countrymen, and accessible to the grossest flattery; his head, indeed, was turned by his unexpected good fortune in being raised to a rank for which his own talents had not qualified him. He was easily urged to strong measures, the performance of which, however, was usually prevented by the natural mildness of his disposition; and when his national pride or patriotism was roused, the unaffected manner in which he expressed himself appealed most powerfully to the feelings of his hearers. He was wholly destitute of dissimulation; and generally convinced by the last speaker, especially when he had found the way to his heart. The mention of a victory gained by Austria, or in the cause of his native country—

an allusion to the old times of the Tyrol—an enthusiastic word in favour of the sacred person of the Emperor, or of the Archduke John, so dear to every Tyrolean—were appeals which had too powerful an effect on the feelings of Hofer; and he, who, according to the testimony of those who attended him, conducted himself in his last moments " come un eroe Cristiano e martire intrepido," was for some time bathed in tears and unable to utter a word.

In personal courage Hofer was certainly not deficient, he has sufficiently proved it by the manner in which he exposed himself for the sake of his country; but though it may appear incredible it is a well known fact, that he never was in action but once during the whole of 1809, but was usually to be found (even during the two decisive battles near Innspruck, on the 29th May, and the 12th of August) carousing in a public house. He was incapable of directing a march, attack, or indeed any disposition of his troops, although much might naturally have been expected from the complete knowledge which he possessed of the country; and, in allusion to the superstitious weakness of his character, he has been described leading his troops with a rosary in one hand, and a bottle in the other.

He had a great antipathy to night watching, and was particularly annoyed when business interrupted his conviviality. With Hormayr, (who was always actively employed, who devoted even his nights to business, and was never at rest until he had possessed himself of the most advantageous posts) Hofer was constantly at variance. Once, indeed, he had nearly paid dear for his devotion to the bottle. In the beginning of August, General Rouyer advanced with the Saxon contingent to Sterzing, and had already possessed himself of Gossensass, where Hofer had dined and was still sitting at table, before he could be prevailed on to move; till at last when part of the town was blown up, he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat from the back of the house without his hat, and with the greatest difficulty escaped by the Gasteig to Passeyr.

It will naturally be asked how, with these defects, Hofer could have acted the conspicuous part he did, or how he was able to obtain so completely the confidence of his countrymen? His having been chosen as deputy from his native valley to the Archduke John at Brunecken, in November, 1805; his journey to Vienna in January, 1809; the favour shown him in his conferences with the prince on that occasion,

and his early success against the Bavarians, when he defeated a strong body of troops at Sterzinger Moos; had excited much attention, and the Tyrolese already looked upon him as a man of consequence; but, for his elevation, he had certainly to thank Hormayr, who had been induced to select him as a leader, on account of his mild disposition and the honesty of his character; for at such a moment it was necessary that the enthusiasm of the people should be guided by chiefs chosen from amongst themselves, whose views were free from suspicion, and whose integrity could be relied on. To this end was Hofer chosen, and Hormayr could not have made a better choice; for although his head was not strong enough to bear his excess of good fortune, he was never known to abuse the powers he was entrusted with; he became the terror of his enemies, and the idol of his countrymen. The name of Hofer cannot be mentioned in the Tyrol to this day without tears of affection, and his deeds will be long remembered there with enthusiastic admiration.

The principal rival of Hofer in this glorious struggle, was Martin Teimer; he was Hofer's superior in talents and understanding, but never attained to that degree of popularity which he

enjoyed. He was born on the 14th of August, 1778, at Schlanders in the Vintschgaw, he was of the middle stature, and stooped a little—his countenance was bold and prepossessing, but expressive of great cunning, his forehead and chin prominent, his nose marked and handsome, and his eyes blue and piercing. When the Tyrol, which had enjoyed a peace of ninety-three years, was disturbed by Buonaparte in 1796, Teimer served in the militia, and raised himself from the rank of private soldier to that of Major, and on several occasions considerably distinguished himself; particularly at Fay and Zambana under Major General Baron Loudon, as well as at Botzen and the Castle of Maultasch, and in April 1799, at Scharlerjoch, in the memorable advance of F. M. Count Bellegarde to Engadein. In 1805 he was made captain of the newly organized militia in the Tyrol; and during the peace of 1806 kept a tobacco shop at Clagenfurt. His disposition, like Hofer's, was phlegmatic, and he was equally fond of ease and conviviality:—they were naturally jealous of each other, and in many instances, where, perhaps, unanimity might have been of essential service to the cause in which they were both engaged, their jealousy is said to have prevented the execution of several plans, which, had they

been completed, might eventually have added to their mutual glory. The old proverb,* " Es ist nicht immer das nemliche, wenn zwey das nemliche thun!" has been applied to them.

In the middle of March, 1809, F. M. Chastelar left Clagenfurt, and Teimer was appointed chief of the peasants in the Upper Innthal, with whom he advanced to Innspruck, and on the morning of the 13th April, 8000 French and Bavarian troops surrendered to him at the village of Wiltau; for which he was afterwards rewarded with the title of Baron Von Wiltau, the rank of Major in the Austrian army, the cross of Maria Theresa and an estate.

It is, indeed, upon the whole, wonderful that the plan which had been so ably devised for the insurrection, should never have been discovered, never betrayed, either intentionally or by accident, before it actually took place. The secret, however, was nearly escaping more than once. Nossing of Botzen, who had accompanied Hofer to Vienna, talked about it very indiscreetly, and Graff, the banker at Botzen, profiting by the insight he had by this means gained into the intended operations, turned it to his own profit. This man, principally on account of the pecu-

* " It is not always the same, when two do the same!"

niary assistance he gave to the cause, was created Baron, and afterwards, though perhaps undeservedly, decorated with the cross of Maria Theresa.

Towards the end of the month of March, Hormayr repaired to Gratz, where the Archduke John had his head-quarters, and from him received his final decision concerning the arrangements for the breaking out of the insurrection. From thence he hastened to F. M. Chastelar, who was at Clagenfurt, and had afterwards another interview with the Archduke at Villach, after which the following proclamation was issued.

" To arms Tyroleans! to arms! The hour of deliverance is at hand. The beloved Emperor Francis, who has been for a time separated from you, is again given to you, and calls upon you to arm in the most holy cause—a cause which has deprived him of his best possessions, and which has threatened the Imperial House itself—a cause which after a long and treacherous peace stands forth like a rock in the deluge—the last, the only remaining defence of the liberty of Europe.

" Now is the time either to draw your swords while Napoleon is occupied in another part of Europe in attempting to load the Spaniards with

a foreign yoke, or to wait till he has accomplished that project, and that he returns with renewed force against Austria, to crush that only remaining obstacle to his wish of universal power; has he not insolently announced this intention? has he not already called Joseph Buonaparte an Archduke of Austria and Count of Hapsburg?

" The choice is made ! look up to us. Every thing is already in motion; that our resolution may be not only immediately but powerfully executed—look around, see the power and alacrity that are on all sides displayed for the common cause—and be faithful to Austria! Already has the Archduke Charles swept the plains of Amberg, Wurzburg, Ostrack and Stockack, where within the space of a few days he gained repeated victories over the chief commanders of the enemy.—Already has he shown you on your frontiers the well known colours of black and gold.* You will see again at your head the beloved Archduke John, to whom every spot of ground from Scharnitz to Montebaldo, and from Kreuzburg to Tonal, is known and endeared; whose greatest pride is to be yours entirely, and whose greatest pain is to be separated from you.

* The colours of Austria.

" It is impossible that a separation like that of 1805 can again take place—a separation so bitterly felt.—Now is the moment on which depends the preservation or the complete destruction of the imperial dominions.—On the Tyrolese Alps, called by Maximilian I. and Charles the V. the shield and heart of Austria, have the ancient princes of our House built their hopes. There also we build our own.

" The unlucky peace of Presburg (read it, brethren, and see if you can discover one article that France and her confederates have not broken and despised) has broken the link that connected the Tyrol with Austria during the space of 443 years. The Tyrol was surrendered, but not abandoned to the lawless will of an irritated conqueror, or to the mercy of a heartless master; —no, even in this painful moment we gloried in ' your ancient fidelity to Austria ;' our care was to prevent all division and distribution of lands, and to secure the ancient rights of your constitution and country.

" With the reserve of all her ancient rights and liberty, the Tyrol became in 1363 the property of Austria. This contract between the princes of Austria and the people of the Tyrol has been rendered sacred by innumerable circumstances and agreements.

" Under the same restrictions, and with the

same rights and titles only, did the Emperor surrender the Tyrol; and these stipulations were made in the 8th article of the peace of Presburg. This last care for his departing lands (since he received the signed treaty at Holitsch, on the 29th of December, 1805) has been the only solace of his tedious hours.

"The Royal Bavarian proclamation of the 14th January, 1806, declared that 'the Tyrolese should not only retain their ancient rights and liberty, but that their welfare should be promoted in every possible manner, and that their wishes should be listened to with the greatest attention.

"Many times were the words which the king himself addressed to the deputies repeated, and even printed, that "*no iota of the constitution should be changed*,"—that he honoured the grief which the Tyrolese expressed for the loss of their ancient masters, but that he hoped by his constant care and attention to their wishes to make himself equally regretted by them.

"How your honest hearts rejoiced at this royal promise on the conclusion of the peace, and yet at the end of a few months where was your constitution?—your rights or your liberty? Where was the promised attention to your welfare?—these liberties so bravely defended;

those possessions which had been the rewards of your fidelity, and which had for centuries remained unpolluted, and undisturbed; the decrees of our public Diet, or the more limited assembly of our fathers? Where are your brothers and countrymen—what is become of them?—despised and neglected they have been forgotten by your oppressors, but from your memory they can never be obliterated! Clergymen, ministers of altars, you have been the first objects of their fierce attack. This was their plan, and alas, what has been the result?—When a whole nation has been deprived of its liberty and its name, when its courage and magnanimity give way to a tame indifference and servile submission, can there be found a better moment to strike the blow and crush it at once and for ever; —this was their idea.

"But God be praised they have been deceived, they are yet ignorant of any internal revolt; if without assistance they should venture to oppose the power of the mountaineers they would only augment the evil. The Tyrolese have beheld with bitter feelings their abbeys and monasteries destroyed, the property of their churches stolen and carried away, their bishops and priests exiled, their churches profaned, and their chalices sold to Jews. They see

the Bavarians, and their yet more contemptible colleagues, still eager to continue their work of destruction and careless of the consequences.

" A higher power has withheld the just anger of the Tyrolese until they were ripe for vengeance—until the hour of deliverance was come. —It is now come !—Now is the time for you—for your clergy first to come forward to revenge the indignities offered to the house of the Lord, and to pour forth your vengeance from the pulpit and the altar; lay your hands upon your hearts, and say, is it not a holy cause for which we exhort you to rouse yourselves? Is it not the cause of faith—the cause of liberty? Even Buonaparte himself knows your power and spirit; even he (who keeps the Holy chief of the church in severe and painful imprisonment, and who is indefatigably employed in all parts of the world,) acknowledges it; he has experienced and knows what a war with an irritated and courageous people is, and trembles at it. He will soon forbid the use of the Scripture and the Talmud in Europe, and replace them by the Alcoran of Egypt, with which he may sin on unpunished. The family of Antiochus is not extinct.

" Your knights and nobles, who, before the institution of the tributary law, were all our

equals, who were the gem of that once honourable constitution, who were never a source of expense to their country or desired more than an honourable name, are all destroyed. Even there the Bavarians envy and wish you to prove your title to a nobility which has endured for more than a century, wish to institute a new one as if nothing was valid but what came from them, and as if they could create a patent of nobility which is of so old a date.

" Your cities and your courts of justice! industrious citizens and tradespeople! — pious, honest peasants!—what is become of you whose interests have been sacrificed, and whose commerce with Italy has been destroyed; and you whose brothers and sons were accustomed to cultivate your vines and till your fields, who, now subject to the conscription, are hurried, away to fight against Austria, your ancient and lawful master, or to Spain, or against Russia, or Prussia, where your German brethren have already spilt so much blood, and whose only reward has been scorn and contempt.

" The Bavarians have despised the bank bills of Austria; but without them they cannot find credit; they have rid you of this evil with the loss of half your property, occasioned by the scarcity of money—have imposed heavy taxes

upon you, and have no mercy upon those who were unable to pay them.—On this account many oppressed landholders have been compelled to quit their homes and the lands which they had cultivated, and earn a subsistence as day labourers, or reduced to depend on the generosity of those who were able to assist them; but from this moment the Austrian notes shall not be chargeable to you, which is a proof of what Austria hopes from you, and of what she is ready to sacrifice to replace so noble a pearl in the imperial crown.

" Tyroleans! Tyroleans! how can you brook the loss of a name to which you once clung so firmly. After the destruction of all your rights and laws, your name, once so glorious, so highly prized, is taken from you, as if you had commit- some heinous crime, and that they wished thus to punish it, that, for ages to come, your children might recollect the crimes of their fathers.

" The Tyrol is now divided and called by the names of the rivers, whose waters are as destitute of colour and taste, as you are of life and spirit to oppose the treatment you have met with.

" Compare with this wretched state—without constitution, without power, without liberty, and without a name, the former prosperity you

enjoyed under the princes of Austria—recollect the constitution formed by Frederick II.—the warm attachment of the great Maximilian—the attention of Charles V.—the anxiety for your welfare shown by the Archduke Ferdinand and Maximilian, Master of the Teutonic Order. Recollect that vigorous defence of your possessions at Claudia against the French, the Swedes, and the malcontents.—Were the Bavarians more irresistible at Strub and Iglau than in the ever memorable year, 1703, when the victorious Max. Emanuel commanded in our vallies? Are Napoleon's Generals greater heroes than Catinat and Vendome, whose glory in those days resounded through our mountains? Ask your fathers how the great Theresa defended her rights against half of Europe. Do you recollect the deeds of Joseph himself and the dangers he has withstood under France, under the protection of Austria, which have served to perpetuate his glory.

" When you recollect all this—when you recollect the treacherous conduct of the Bavarians, in not adhering to the conditions of the Treaty, and the manner in which they broke all the promises they had made—when you recollect that you have never taken the oath of allegiance to them—you will have no other thought, and your

tongue will alone be able to pronounce the word 'Deliverance.'"

Besides this proclamation, the following is an extract from one, which, though much shorter, was infinitely more popular.

"Well, then, be brave, be unanimous—it is necessary for the redemption of your country. Powder and shot shall be the food of your enemies; they will find a surer way to their hearts than your prayers or your misfortunes have. We will oppose them with arms and the ancient Tyrolese courage. Every thing else may the enemy plunder—we promise you compensation and vengeance for it. He is a traitor and a coward who deserts to their standard. In the fields, the forests and the mountains which God hath given you—where your children have sought refuge from oppression, we, your saviours, are at hand to receive you with open arms, and to bring you in a few days back to your homes. Take care that you are prepared, as the Austrians are within your frontiers—but be cautious and let not idle reports deceive you. Brave not openly the power of your enemies, but let them not gain the heights; there you must remain masters, to keep them day and night in perpetual anxiety and to harrass them by constant skirmishes. Cut off all their communications, that,

deprived of provisions and intelligence, they may become alarmed and fly before you. As soon as you see the Austrians at your frontiers, announce the joyous intelligence throughout the whole country by beacon fires and alarm bells. Young and old to arms! for the Emperor and your native country—for your liberty and welfare—your deliverance."

The following proclamation of the Archduke John made an extraordinary impression :—

" Tyroleans! I am come to keep the promise I made on the 4th November, 1805—that the time would certainly come when I should have the joy of again finding myself amongst you.

" Recollect the promises which you made me when I took leave of your deputies at Brunecken, which we were then not able to put in execution, not from your fault or mine, but on account of the unprecedented misfortunes that befel us—The peace of Presburg was the cause of all these disasters—it broke the tie which had connected you with Austria for five hundred years—but even then the Tyrol would not be separated from the Government of Austria, although the new kingdom of Bavaria was desirous to augment its power by the acquisition of so valuable a possession.—Even the father of your country recollected his beloved children, with the greatest

affection and with the ancient fidelity of Austria He stipulated that the Tyrol should remain undivided—that it should retain all its rights and liberties, its constitution, its tributary law—in a word,

"That, in the same manner and with the same rights and titles with which the Emperor had possessed it, it should be made over to Bavaria, and not otherwise.

"These were the stipulations made—these which the faithful deputies urged in the most touching manner to my brother the Emperor in their audience of the 14th of December, 1806—and the Emperor felt assured at the solemn and public manner in which his conditions were acknowledged by Bavaria, which their deputies confirmed.

"The conditions of the surrender were delivered at Innspruck on the 10th April, 1806, and the treaty was made public in the beginning of June, without answering, however, any of your demands, which were avoided under various frivolous pretences, in a manner not only unfriendly but actually cruel, that they might not witness the continued violation of the treaty, which, instead of preserving, served only to banish from the Tyrolese all recollection of their former prosperity.

"This article of the peace of Presburg the Bavarians have kept as they have kept all others. How the Emperor has permitted his honest people to maintain this peace all the world knows, and our enemies know better than any body.

"The Imperial Court must and will lay its just and numberless complaints before the tribunal of the world. It will justify its patience and long forbearance, and to avoid the last overwhelming stroke, it will struggle for its defence.

"Why is the war a holy one? Why is it necessary, and ought to be general? Why is it carried on?—Because so great a power cannot be opposed alone, and therefore every body ought to be unanimous and assist the cause—because the restoration of rights and liberty is to be gained if attempted—because neither Germans nor Hungarians, nor Bohemians ought to be obliged to sacrifice their own honour and prosperity, or to spill their blood as the blind instruments of an avaricious government, to be forced against their will to invade Russia or Turkey, or to conquer the less powerful kingdoms of the world. For these reasons it ought to be carried on.

"The ultimate object of our cause is of the greatest importance, therefore let our courage

and strength be great. The danger of the brave is always less than that of the coward—it is not the pursuer but the fugitive that falls.

" We have an enemy to oppose whose power until this day nothing has been able to withstand; it has been every where victorious where it has not found unanimity, indefatigable ardour, and firm perseverance to oppose it—with these, nothing is impossible. We possess this firmness and courage; the same feeling pervades every mind. Every thing is prepared for war, and those who are unable to carry arms assist us with their good advice.

" Austria has sustained many dangers, and has been victorious, the present is the greatest of them all; but there was never such unanimity, such ardour in every heart. Austria is at hand with a great power. Their courage is doubled by the presence of the Emperor himself—at their head stands the conqueror of Wurzburg and Stockack, who is known and loved by every German, and in whom they place the greatest confidence.

" In a moment of such consequence to our faithful combined power, in the midst of the ardour for the holiest cause for which sword was ever drawn, I plant the Austrian eagle in the

earth of the Tyrol, in which so many of my glorious ancestors repose.

" In this eventful moment, when the ancient prosperity of the Hapsburgs is returning to us, I recall, as Duke Ferdinand did, 933 years ago, the nobles, the prelates, the citizens, and the peasants to the foot of that throne, which to them has always been a place of solace and assistance.

" The dispositions which the present situation of affairs demands, are stated in a public order issued by me. Arms, and the old Tyrolese courage, to gain the restitution of your rights is all you desire, instead of misery and oppression; and your honour as well as your welfare requires it.

" This proclamation will bring back to you the recollection of those days when twelve years ago the enemy under Joubert was by your courage defeated at Spinges, Jenesien, and Botzen, and obliged to fly the country. This moment enables you to play the principal part in the holy cause; and would it be possible, Tyroleans, for you not to wish to do so.

" Tyroleans! I know you; I am no stranger to your vallies or mountains—I am confident that you will realize the hopes of your fathers and our highest expectations.

" ARCHDUKE JOHN."

It would be difficult to describe the impression which this and other proclamations of a similar kind made on the minds of the enthusiastic Tyrolese. Their ardour seemed to redouble, and thousands flocked to the standards of their patriotic chiefs, determined to conquer or to die in the holy cause.

The night* of the 8th of April was fixed for the event on which depended the destiny of the Tyrol. It was a dark gloomy night, but towards morning the weather cleared up, and promised a fine day. Chastelar and Hormayr passed an anxious night in riding through the troops, to give the necessary orders for the intended movements, and to see that every thing was in a state of preparation. The stillness of the night was alone broken by the heavy tread of the advancing troops, the rattling of the ammunition waggons and great guns, and the cheerful voices of the bivouacers.

At three o'clock in the morning the advanced guard, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Goldlin of the chasseurs, was in motion. Chastelar and Hormayr then harangued their followers, and encouraged the ardour and eager-

* The signal was given by throwing saw-dust into the Inn, which floated down, and was soon discovered and understood by the peasants.

ness with which they seemed to prepare for their duties; and in a few hours, to the great joy of the Tyrolese, the thunder of distant guns and the tumultuous din of alarm bells resounded through the vallies.

In the mean time, Chastelar with his division advanced up the the Drauthal, and F. M. Jellachich, who was in Salzburg, commanded Lieutenant Colonel Baron Taxis to advance from Oberpinzgau and Zillerthal up the Innthal to Innspruck, with a detachment of chasseurs, and of the Oreilly light horse, in order to join Chastelar over the mountains. At break of day, innumerable fires were discovered on the heights, signals to the people that the work of deliverance was begun—they were in a moment understood, and the whole country was in a state of insurrection from one end to the other.

The Bavarian troops overcome with astonishment at the suddenness of the event, knew not which way to turn: every thing was in a state of hurry and tumult. A column of French troops, three thousand strong, who were on their march from Mantua to Augsburg, were taken by surprise and panic struck, and after a short but determined resistance, were entirely defeated by the peasants, and captured, together with all their colours, eagles and guns.

Hofer and Teimer were in the mean time in the valley of Passeyr. During the night of the 8th of April, the following order was issued by them to be distributed amongst the confederates :—

PUBLIC ORDER.

" On the 9th of April, General Hiler advanced by forced marches from Salzburg into the Oberinnthal, and F. M. General Chastelar from Carinthia to the Pusterthal. On the 11th or 12th the former will arrive at Innspruck and the latter at Brixen.

The Mulbach Clause will, by order of his Royal Highness the Archduke John, be occupied by the Pusterthal peasants, and the Kuntersweg by the Rittnern, that all those which march out of Botzen and Brixen may be headed, and that we may be possessed of the strongest and most important position before the Bavarians fly from Brixen to Botzen, then nothing will be able to pass. Kolbe, by order of the Archduke, is to command at Kuntersweg and to take care of such prisoners as may fall into his hands, and to protect the persons and papers of those Bavarian officers who have been distinguished for their inveteracy against the Austrian government and the Tyrol, from all injury and

ill treatment; but on no pretence whatever to allow them to proceed from Ritten to Botzen. The pay of the men will be increased as soon as the Archduke John and General Chastelar arrive, and the officers will receive their pay, as well at Kaltern and throughout that district, as at Salurn and Neumarkt. At Kaltern, Joseph Morandel is chosen commander by the Archduke, and has received orders what to do. Count Arzt commands at Nonsburg, and Baron Hormayr is Commissary General.

"*Given at Sand, in Passeyr, on the 9th of April*, 1809.

"MARTIN TEIMER.

"ANDREW HOFER, *Publican.*"

After the publication of this order, Teimer hastened over the mountains to Oberinnthal, in order to assist the Austrian troops that were entering in that quarter, and to cut off the communications of the Bavarians; and Hofer, with from 4 to 5,000 men, consisting of peasants from the valley of Passeyr, Algund, Meran, &c. who increased in numbers as he went, advanced over the Gaufen to Sterzing, to meet the enemy from Brixen.

The 8th division of the Austrian army, which was to assist the operations of the Tyrolese under

the command of F. M. General Chastelar, consisted of three battalions of Hohenlohe and Bartenstein infantry, three of Lusignan, one battalion of the 9th Chasseurs, three squadrons of Hohenzollern light horse, together with the country militia, consisting of three battalions from Clagenfurt, two from Villach, two from Judenburg, and two from Bruck; forming in the whole sixteen battalions of foot and three squadrons of horse. This force, however, was very deficient in cavalry, and to that deficiency may be attributed its frequent failure.

The advance of Chastelar and Hormayr through the Pusterthal resembled rather the triumph of a victorious army than the march of one about to meet its enemies. They were every where received with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy—the village bells rang as they passed, and men, women, and children of all ages flocked in crowds to greet and cheer them by their acclamations. Mothers brought their children to look at them, and blind old men were led out of their cottages that they might hear, and bless their gallant countrymen. All endeavoured to get near, that they might shake hands with them, touch their clothes, or even kiss their horses.

Between Lienz and Sillian, on the evening of

the 10th of April, they received news of the attempt of the Bavarians on the bridge of St. Lorenzen near Brunecken, which had compelled the Tyrolese to commence hostilities there six-and-thirty hours sooner than was originally intended. Wrede and Donnersberg had advanced with a squadron of dragoons, two battalions of light infantry, and three guns, from Brixen, with a view to quell the insurrection, and by destroying the bridges to delay the advance of the Austrians, On the arrival of this intelligence the advanced guard was ordered, in the greatest hurry, to hasten forward with a detachment of chasseurs and light infantry to the assistance of the Tyrolese. Chastelar and Hormayr put themselves at the head of the Hohenzollern light horse and set off at a full trot to the Mulbacher Clause and the heights of Schabs, which was the centre of military operations in the Tyrol.

A strong detachment of the French column we have before mentioned, had joined the Bavarians, and had taken their position in the Eisackthal on the main road between Brixen Clause and the bridge of Laditch.* At the

* The bridge of Laditch was formed of a single arch, suspended between two tremendous rocks, over the road from Innspruck to Italy and the Pusterthal—in old times criminals were executed here, AD PONTEM PENDENTEM.

beginning of the action with the Tyrolese they attempted to break their line by a continued fire, but for some time met with no success; the Tyrolese stood their ground firmly in spite of repeated and violent attacks.—Towards evening, however, the French were reinforced by about 1000 foot and 600 horse, and then only the Tyrolese, overpowered by numbers, began to give way.

At this critical moment Lieutenant Colonel Gerarhdi appeared on the heights of Schabs with seventy of the Hohenzollern light horse and 200 chasseurs, who immediately charged the enemy, shouting as they charged. For some minutes the firing ceased—the Tyrolese broke out immediately into expressions of joy, some threw away their arms, some fell on their knees to return thanks, while others embraced the Austrians with tears in their eyes, calling them brothers.

The Bavarians, who were astonished at the sudden and unexpected arrival of this reinforcement, retreated in the greatest disorder, and were pursued towards Sterzing with a considerable loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners. General Lemoine with about 2,000 French fled in the opposite direction, towards Botzen, in

spite of General Bisson, who did all in his power to encourage and rally them, and was taken prisoner with all his men at Botzen.

Hofer, with his *Landsturm*, appeared on the heights above Sterzing, in the night of the 10th of April, and would have hastened to the assistance of his countrymen at Brixen, but unhappily he was completely surrounded by the enemy. The Bavarians attacked him on the following morning, opening their fire upon his party on the plains of Sterzing Moos; but the Tyrolese sharpshooters, who were sheltered by rocks, made dreadful havoc amongst them, and the artillery-men were several times shot away from their guns. At length the Tyrolese made a desperate charge, armed with spears, pitchforks, and any implement of offence they could collect, rushed upon the Bavarians like a torrent; while others, who were stationed on the heights, hurled huge masses of rocks and trees upon those beneath. After a desperate struggle which lasted for some time, the Bavarians gave way, and having lost several of their best officers, and above 240 men killed and wounded, threw down their arms and surrendered. About 580 prisoners were conducted, immediately after the action, to Baron Sternach's castle at Wolfs-

thrun, (a league distant from the field of battle), overhanging the main road from Sterzing.*

Hofer at this moment received intelligence, that the French column, under the command of Generals Bisson and Lemoine, which had marched from Mantua, had joined the Bavarians near Brixen; that the peasants had prevented the destruction of the bridges of Laditch and St. Lorenzen, and that Chastelar had hastened up Pusterthal to their assistance; orders were therefore immediately issued for a pursuit, so that the peasants of the Innthal might attack them in the front at the same time that the peasants of the Whippthal attacked their rear.

A detachment, with one squadron of Bavarian light dragoons, and some Barenklau infantry, under the command of Wrede and Donnersberg, began their march from Sterzing to Innspruck over the Stellenberg and Brenner, but were much harassed in the narrow pass of Lueg by the peasants, who had taken their stations among the surrounding rocks. Their progress was also constantly impeded by immense heaps of trees thrown across the road, by bridges broken down

* During this action, a female peasant was seen in the thickest of the fight encouraging the men, and herself hurling stones at the enemy.

and destroyed. In the mean time they committed every sort of excess during their march, plundering and maltreating every one they met; a conduct which did not produce the effect they intended—that of intimidating the peasants—but rather augmented that angry feeling which was already sufficiently strong, and gave a more decided character to their hatred of their oppressors.

During these proceedings the following letter from Chastelar was printed, and distributed throughout the country.

"Brave Tyroleans! I am already in the midst of you. My troops have taken up their position near Brixen and on the heights of Schabs, by which means all communication between the enemy and Italy is prevented. I have, at the same time, dispatched a strong division of horse and foot, and a supply of ammunition, over the Brenner to your assistance. Another division has marched towards Botzen. Remain, therefore, for the present at your posts, that you may cover my flank.

"The capital will probably by this time be in possession of the advanced troops of Field Marshal Jellachich's division from Salzburg. On the first news of your being engaged with the

enemy, which I received when I was yet far from you, I hastened to your assistance, marching day and night.

" My march from the borders of Carinthia, through Lienz to Brixen, has been performed without halting, which proves how your ardour and courage have inspired my troops, and how eagerly they desire to become brothers of the brave Tyrolese.

" Your prisoners, who have witnessed your intrepidity, shall be pledges for your personal security, they shall suffer if the horrors which the Bavarians have committed within these few days at Mauls, Sterzing, and Gossensas, are repeated.

" These days will be perpetuated in the history of the Tyrol. Your names will be handed down to your posterity, and your children will glory in the deeds of their fathers. You will realize the high expectations which the beloved Archduke John has formed of you.

" Tyroleans! trust me, as I trust you.—Persevere and be courageous. In a few days the great work will be performed, and we shall have effected your deliverance!!

" Marquis Chastelar, *Field Marshal.*

" *Muhlbach*, 12*th April*, 1809."

From the enthusiasm displayed by the peasants, and the hatred which they manifested of the Bavarians, when the advanced guard of the Austrian army appeared before Brixen, it was feared they would commit some excess, and Hormayr immediately issued the following proclamation to tranquillize them.

" Faithful Tyroleans! so true to your religion and so attached to your native country, the greatest pride of my heart is to be your countryman, and the happiest moment of my life is that in which I am able to take a part in your deliverance.

" Yes, you have proved yourselves worthy to be free, you have proved that you deserve that constitution which existed while the Tyrol belonged to Austria, but which has been despised and destroyed since the Emperor Francis has ceased to extend his sceptre over the beloved Tyrol.

" You have proved yourselves worthy to be free, do not, therefore, give way to your indignation and become ungovernable, but act with unanimity and coolness, determined to die or to be free.

" To injure the feeble is contemptible:—No Tyrolean will allow himself to be accused of such a deed—to follow the example of those

who have nothing to lose, who molest and plunder the peaceful and inoffensive, would inevitably sow the seeds of discord and disunion amongst us and ruin our cause.

" I know the deeds of your fathers, our rights and liberties—I have written the history of my native country, and I will try to merit a place in it myself;—but without discipline, order and obedience, nothing will prosper;—I command you, in the name of the Emperor, to be tranquil, and will punish all those who disobey his orders. —In the name of the beloved Archduke John, in that of Chastelar, the brave leaders of the Austrian army, your saviours—I shall treat the first person who creates disturbance, or commits excesses, as an enemy to the country—his strength is to be used only in its defence."

" Joseph Baron Hormayr,
" Intendant of the Emperor."

Brixen, 13th April, 1809.

On the 10th of April the peasants of the Innthal rushed to arms.—The signal was given that all was ready for the commencement of hostilities, and women and children were employed to carry about and distribute papers on which were written, " S'ist zeit."—It is time!

On the morning of the 11th, more than 20,000 men were collected on the height above Inn-

spruck, and the Bavarian piquets at Martinswand, Arams, Komaten and Berg Isel, retreated towards the city;—all the roads on which it was possible for the enemy to find an outlet were broken up, and barricades of trees piled across them. The bridges were destroyed, and every measure taken to prevent their escape. The enemy, meanwhile, placed guns on the two bridges of the Inn, and took up the most advantageous positions of defence that could be found.

Early in the morning of the same day the fire was opened with great violence, and a strong body of peasants, armed with muskets and long poles with bayonets fixed to them, possessed themselves of the bridge of Mohlauer.

The Bavarians, who were stationed on the upper bridge of the Inn, could not withstand the impetuosity of the Tyrolese, and were speedily dislodged and killed at their guns before they had time to discharge them. The peasants rushed on, waving their hats and shouting "Long live the Emperor Francis—down with the Bavarians," and completely routed them. In the narrow part of the road to Hotting, many of the enemy were struck down by the butt-ends of muskets, while others were thrown over the bridge into the water and drowned; all that could escape, retreated hastily into the city,

where they were closely followed by the Tyrolese who thronged in numbers through the gates. The city was garrisoned by the regiment of Kinkel, one squadron of cavalry and some detachments of light infantry.

It was 9 o'clock in the morning;—the tumult and confusion became general.—The Bavarians, who had stationed themselves on the tops of the houses and at the windows, could not withstand the incessant irregular fire of the peasants, soon abandoned their posts, threw down their arms in the streets, and begged for mercy; but in the last extremity many of them defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity, and those who were stationed at the barracks stood their ground to the last man. Colonel Dittfurt was everywhere encouraging, entreating, and menacing his men, in the same breath, and fighting in the most desperate manner, as if he thought every thing depended on the fate of the day.

The Tyrolese were in possession of the house of the Commander in Chief (Kinkel) and were pressing him to surrender, when Dittfurt, who had already received two wounds in his body, came up and attacked them alone sword in hand —a third ball struck him in the breast, and as he sunk on his knees a stream of blood gushed

from his mouth;—as some peasants came to take him prisoner, he raised himself up, and called faintly to his men to come on and not to be cowards, when he received a fourth ball in his head and fell senseless.—A few minutes afterwards Lieutenant Colonel Spansky was shot dead from his horse at the corner of a street, and the main body of infantry threw down their arms.

The cavalry, who, in the beginning of the fight, had done the most execution, were at length thrown into disorder. The Tyrolese, as soon as they saw them approaching, dispersed; at the same time keeping up an irregular fire, which made dreadful havoc, without their being able to revenge it.—On the surrender of the infantry they were panic struck, and, finding none to support them, fled in all directions, regardless of the entreaties of their officers;—some rode furiously about the streets not knowing which way to turn, while others stood motionless, apparently disregarding their fate.—In this moment of confusion the Tyrolese rushed upon them, and forcing them with their pitch-forks to dismount, got upon their horses.

This Dittfurt, supported by three other men, was supposed to have been the principal cause of separating the Tyrol from Austria. Hoffstetten

and Wieg, Circle Directors, and Count Welsberg, Commissary General of Etsch Circle, were the persons alluded to.

Hoffstetten, the first of these, the Bavarian agent in the Berctholdsgaden, had always been noted for the immorality of his life;—like the Parolles of Shakespeare, he was a mixture of vanity and ignorance, of real cowardice and affected bravery. He was known as Circle Captain of the district of Pusterthal, and in that capacity had gained universal hatred; he was entirely under the influence of an abandoned woman who was the chief depository of all his secrets, and through whom the Austrian emissaries found it no difficult matter to procure access to him.

Wieg was a man of great spirit, prudence, and activity, and of acknowledged rectitude;—he was twice sent upon a secret mission to Vienna, in 1799 and 1805. This mission was ostensibly under the direction of the Baron Gravenreuth, who himself was merely an instrument of Comte d'Antraigues and the Swedish Ambassador, General Armfeldt, whose intrigues were the principal cause of that bad understanding between the Courts of Austria and Bavaria, which has been attended with such disastrous consequences not only to Germany, but to the

whole of Europe.—Wieg came to the Tyrol full of the ideas which he had acquired in this school, though not all congenial to the feelings of those simple minded peasants.

Count Welsberg was not destitute of talents, but was without energy; disappointed ambition seems to have been the principal motive for his conduct; he was of high rank, and had filled eminent stations, but failing in some object which he was anxious to carry, he refused from pique what was his due—what his ancestors had enjoyed before him, and what he would certainly have obtained;—he broke off suddenly his negociations with the Court of Austria, and in a fit of anger and resentment, exerted all his faculties in opposition to it.

Dittfurt, the fourth of these opponents of Austria, first distinguished himself in the valley of Fiemme *(Fleims Thal)*, where the peasants first manifested a determination to resist the new system of recruiting at that time adopted.—Dittfurt, then Lieutenant Colonel, was sent against them in January 1809, with his troop; and in spite of the resistance of the civil commissary Riccabona, he committed excesses which increased instead of allaying the irritation of the people; proud of an easy victory, he hastened with Wieg to Munich, where he was

immediately promoted.—He boasted publicly "that with his regiment and two squadrons he could check the ragged mob."—This produced confidence at Munich; in spite of which, however, the Commander in Chief of the Bavarians gave orders, in the night of the 11th April, 1809, for active operations.*

* Letter from General Kinkel to the Bavarian Lieutenant Colonel Wrede, at Brixen.

"Since the arrival of the last letter of the Lieutenant Colonel, we have received an account of the carrying of the bridge of St. Lorenzen, which, however, appears not to have been as yet necessary, and, at all events, we think that a day on which the country people are usually accustomed to assemble was ill chosen for such an undertaking.

"It is necessary that the post at Brunecken should be retaken, for the furtherance of Military operations, because by this means a situation will be possessed that will enable us to witness the consequences of the Levée-en-masse of the hostile troops of peasants. The Lieutenant Colonel will, therefore, on the receipt of this letter, make such dispositions as will put him in possession of the post at Brunecken within twenty-four hours;—one, or, at most, two companies will be sufficient for such an undertaking.—To ensure the safe retreat of this detachment, it would be advisable to take up another position at Mulbach and Neustift, and a party must defend the Hermitage at Mulbach.—As soon as the post at Brunecken is retaken, a strong patrole must be sent forward to Jenichen, and even farther in advance if possible;—and to ensure the safe retreat of this patrole, after it has been absent a certain time, a second party had better be sent to meet it, which, if ne-

In the action at Innspruck, here mentioned, Dittfurt saw that all that was left for him was to die gloriously, and he fought like a hero, till, covered with wounds, he was at length made prisoner by the very peasants whom he had so much despised; after lingering twelve

cessary, must disengage the first. The roads from Mittewald to Schabs must, during these operations, be diligently patroled by the detachments stationed at Mittewald and Oberau;—and the Commissary General is required to publish a proclamation in my name, stating "that every peasant found with arms in his hands will be put to death instantaneously, as well as every one concerned in instigating the insurrection"—an order which the Lieutenant Colonel will know how to put in execution:—he is to take care that this proclamation be promulgated, and will endeavour to do it as speedily as possible. In case the Commissary General should not be competent to such a task, the Lieutenant Colonel will proclaim that the insurgents are considered as rebels to the military power, and consequently will be treated as such.

"We do not expect that the patroles already mentioned will be made prisoners; should this, however, be the case, an immediate provision for their being restored must be made the first point in the proclamation.

"The capture of Brunecken does not, however, depend upon the publication of the proclamation, and the Lieutenant Colonel is to answer for the immediate capture of that post, which he ought never to have surrendered so hastily.

"In the communication of the Lieutenant Colonel, nothing is mentioned concerning a sort of defence, or rather resistance, on the flank of the troops at Jenichen, which, until the commanding officers themselves have explained it, will be considered

days in a delirious fever he breathed his last.—F. M. Chastelar paid him every attention, and tried every possible means of alleviating his sufferings by kindness and care; but Dittfurt was insensible to it all, and continued to rave about butchering peasants and the defence of Kufstein.—Once only he spoke to Chastelar, and then sarcastically said "if every one had behaved as *I* have, you would not have been here," alluding to General Kinkel who had commanded the Prussian fortifications in 1806. Dittfurt died unregretted; for his character, and conduct were not calculated to gain esteem; but as a soldier he was highly estimated, and his services merited the greatest praise.

As Dittfurt lay half fainting from loss of blood in the guard house at Innspruck, sur-

as a charge against them. Commanders of from twenty to forty men should not yield to a superior number of unskilful peasants, unless they can prove it to have been unavoidable; but nothing of this is mentioned in the dispatch.

"*Innspruck*, 11*th April*, 1809.

"Sent at Ten o'clock at night
"from
"Lieutenant General Kinkel,
"Commander in Chief."

rounded by his disarmed companions, he asked "who had been the leader of the peasants,"— "No one," was the answer, "we fought equally for God, the Emperor, and our native country:" —"That is surprising," replied Dittfurt, "for I saw him frequently pass me on his white horse."

This accidental and insignificant speech made the greatest impression upon the minds of the peasants, who are strongly addicted to superstition, and from that moment they were convinced that St. James, the patron of the town of Innspruck, had fought with them.*

At 11 o'clock Innspruck was in possession of the peasants, nearly the whole of the Bavarian troops being made prisoners, consisting of the Commander-in-Chief General Kinkel, with his regiment, one squadron of cavalry, four six-pounders, several ammunition waggons, all the baggage and provisions, and two colours. Major Teimer particularly distinguished himself on this occasion, having made prisoners with his own hand, Count Lodron, Commissary General

* The Spaniards in their wars with the Moors, pretended that St. James was seen in several battles on a white horse defending their cause.

for the district of the Inn, and the French Colonel Constantin, whom Buonaparte had sent to Innspruck to watch the proceedings of the Bavarians.

A small party of cavalry, amongst whom was Count Erbach, had escaped out of Innspruck during the confusion, but they were pursued and taken prisoners by Joseph Speckbacher at a short distance from the town, together with the Bavarian piquet, at the bridge of Volders, who on the first alarm had taken refuge in a convent, but were soon dislodged by the Tyrolese, who burst open the gates by means of an immense fir tree, which was carried by fifty men, and used as a battering ram.

The Tyrolese, after this decisive victory, were so elated that their joy knew no bounds, nothing was heard but shouts and rejoicings. The imperial eagle was taken down from the tomb of Maximilian, decorated with red ribbons, and carried through the streets amidst the acclamations of the people, to the house of Baron Taxis, where it was fixed, and where the peasants flocked in crowds to kiss and look at it. The pictures of the Emperor and the Archduke John were placed on a sort of triumphal arch, surrounded by lighted candles, which were kept

constantly burning, and every one that passed bent his knee before them, crying, "Long live the Emperor!"

These rejoicings, however, were not of long duration. The victorious peasants, who, overcome by the fatigues of the day, had fallen asleep in the streets, or in the orchards around the town, were suddenly awakened at 3 o'clock on the following morning, by the alarm bells of the city, and of all the adjacent villages. It was soon discovered that a strong column of Bavarians and French were advancing towards Innspruck, and at 5 o'clock they appeared on the heights of Berg Isel. Lieutenant Margreiter, with a detachment of the advanced guard, was the first who attempted to enter the town; but he had scarcely passed the triumphal arch when he received a mortal wound in his breast, and fell from his horse. The gates were immediately barricaded, with casks, waggons, and every thing that could be found for the purpose. The doors of all the houses were closed up, and every preparation was made to receive the enemy.

In the mean time the combined troops of the enemy arranged themselves in order of battle, taking up two different positions. The French, under the command of Lieutenant General Bis-

son* occupied the ground between the Abbey of Wiltau and the village of that name. The Bavarians placed themselves to the left of the French on the ground between Wiltau and the river Inn. The French having the river Sill in their rear, and the Bavarians the rocks of Berg Isel, which were covered with Tyrolese sharp-shooters. Chastelar in the mean time had pushed on from Sterzing, and the detachment of Austrians from Salzburg was rapidly advancing up the Innthal, so that the enemy found themselves completely surrounded and were far from being satisfied with their situation.

Teimer had entered the city on the preceding day, just before Dittfurt fell, and during these preparations he had an interview with his prisoner General Kinkel, whom he compelled to write a letter to the enemy, begging them to send some confidential person into the town to whom he might explain the true state of affairs. This letter, which was immediately dispatched, had the desired effect, and in a short time Colonel Wrede, accompanied by a French Colonel, entered the town. These were immediately attacked with such fury, that all who were able retreated in haste to the main army, but not before they had lost 200 men; while the Tyrolese,

* Bisson had the command at Mantua when Hofer was shot.

during the three days constant fighting of the 11th, 12th, and 13th, only lost in all 26 men, killed and wounded.

Wrede and the French officer that accompanied him were detained by order of Teimer, while the rest of the prisoners were allowed to return to the enemy. They on their return gave such an exaggerated account of the strength, as well as the fury of the Tyrolese, that the French were in the utmost consternation, and the Bavarians were confounded by the loss of their commander, as well as alarmed at the news they heard.

Teimer, accompanied by Baron Taxis and the brave Atzwanger, commander of the armed Bourgeois, together with several other chiefs of the peasantry, repaired soon after to the French lines. He found the French staff on a rising ground near the village of Wiltau, next the chateau of Count Wolkenstein. General Bisson received him courteously, affirmed that he intended no injury to the town, and merely demanded that his troops might be permitted to march unmolested to Augsburg. He made no stipulation for the Bavarians. Teimer replied, that he would hear of nothing less than the surrender of the whole army; upon which Bisson answered, that he would rather sacrifice every

man under his command than submit to such humiliation. Teimer did not deign to reply, but quitted him abruptly and returned to the Tyrolese, who immediately opened a fire upon the enemy, which made dreadful havoc amongst the French grenadiers, and they were so alarmed at the shouts and impetuosity of the peasants, that they stood almost motionless, scarcely returning the fire which diminished their numbers at every moment. Seeing their desperate situation, the French officers used every means in their power to induce Bisson to surrender on honourable terms to the Tyrolese, and recalled Teimer to arrange with him the conditions on which he would accept their submission. Bisson, however, partly from a feeling of pride, and partly from the fear that such an act would bring down upon his head the wrath of his inexorable master, was for some time unwilling to sign the articles of surrender.*

The following articles of surrender were signed by Teimer.†

* It was the interest of Buonaparte to bury this unfortunate incident in oblivion, and Bisson, therefore, instead of sharing the fate of Dupont and Villeneuve, was afterwards appointed Governor of Mantua; and the French and Bavarian forces were thus compelled to surrender to a rude, undisciplined peasantry, whom they had always affected to despise.

† As a reward for his eminent services on this occasion, Teimer was created Baron Wiltau.

" In the name of Francis the First, Emperor of Austria, the French and Bavarian troops at Steinach and Wiltau agreed to the following conditions of surrender.

1st. That the French and Bavarian army shall lay down their arms immediately.

2dly. That the whole body of the 8th division of the army shall deliver themselves up to the Austrian troops at Schwaz.

3dly. That all the Tyrolese who have been made prisoners by these troops be set free.

4thly. That the officers of the French and Bavarian army shall be set free, with their swords, baggage, horses, and all other property untouched.

Given by me, for his Royal Highness Archduke John, through his orders and directions, at Innspruck, 13th of April, 1809, at half-past 8 in the forenoon.

(L.S.) MARTIN TEIMER, *Major, and Authorized Commissary.*

Countersigned.

ARMANCE,
VARIN,
BISSON,
AURBE,
CAP,
BINDE,
DONNERSBERG,
CAPOLLÉ.

Our admiration of the national character of the Tyrolese will certainly be augmented, when we reflect that so little blood was shed in an insurrection in which every individual in the country was concerned, the cause and ultimate object of which was to drive from their territories a foe who had treated them with every species of cruelty and oppression. It is scarcely possible to suppose, that, amongst such a mass of irritated people, some instances of individual cruelty would not be found. There were some who undoubtedly had not the due command of their passions, and in a moment of irritation and fury, they were guilty of excesses which did not add to the glory of the cause; but these instances are few. The peasants conducted themselves generally in a manner equally creditable to their leaders and themselves, their prisoners were treated universally with the greatest humanity and kindness, and instead of following the base example of the Bavarians, they seemed eager to show them every attention in their power. And while the courage and intrepidity of the Tyrolese patriots will be remembered throughout Europe, for years to come, with enthusiastic admiration, the humanity with which they treated their enemies will be honoured and respected.

It was however universally reported, that the Tyrolese had murdered their prisoners in cold blood; and that, on the 13th of April, all the French and Bavarians who had surrendered themselves were massacred at the instigation of Chastelar.

A calumny so vile and infamous is scarcely worth refutation, but nothing can be easier if it were necessary, than to prove its falsehood; for the fact is, that on the 13th Chastelar was still at Brixen, and did not arrive at Innspruck until the prisoners had passed Schwaz, on their road to Salzburg, under a female escort, as the men could not be spared to guard them; and had he been there, Chastelar (who was remarkable for the mildness and attention with which he treated his prisoners) would have shuddered at the idea of such a crime. But it was the object of Napoleon to efface, if possible, the recollection of his unlucky defeat, by throwing the blame on the conduct of his enemies, and it mattered little to him, how base or infamous the means were to which he resorted, provided they effected his purpose.

Buonaparte was particularly exasperated against Chastelar, and accusing him of a crime which he had never committed, passed an act of

outlawry* against him, as well as Hormayr, by which they were condemned to death; at the same time he issued a proclamation, in which he exhorted the Tyrolese to deliver them up to his mercy; accusing Chastelar as a traitor for having taken up arms against his native country, and Hormayr as the author of sedition and instigator of rebellion. Chastelar had once nearly met the fate thus prepared for him. On the 13th, at the battle of Wörgl, being very short-sighted, and deceived by the similarity of the Bavarian uniform to that of his own suite, he suddenly found himself surrounded by a party of the enemy's dragoons, who immediately took him prisoner, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he was rescued.

After such proofs of the inveteracy displayed by Napoleon against Chastelar, it will appear extraordinary, that when M. Berthier was at

* Imperial Head Quarters, Ens, May 5.

By orders of the Emperor, the person named Chastelar, styling himself a General in the service of Austria, the mover of the insurrection in the Tyrol, charged with being the author of the massacres committed on the Bavarian and French prisoners by the insurgents, shall, upon being made prisoner, be carried immediately before a military commission, and if judged guilty, be shot within twenty-four hours.

THE PRINCE OF NEUFCHATEL.

Vienna, in February, 1810, acting as Envoy to the Court of Austria, he industriously sought every opportunity of complimenting him on his conduct, alluded in the most flattering manner to the Italian campaign of 1799, and treated his having been proscribed as a piece of badinage, an affair not worth remembering.

The brilliant victories of the Tyrolese on the 12th and 13th, and the good fortune that marked the opening of affairs in the Tyrol, did not fail to raise their spirits, and give them the strongest hopes of ultimate success; while the Bavarians could not but feel in some degree humbled at being thus obliged to acknowledge the superiority of a handful of undisciplined and ill armed peasantry. No one perhaps felt more elated than the Emperor of Austria, who could not contemplate without emotion the affection and attachment so strongly shown to him by the Tyrolese, and who saw every probable prospect of reuniting to his dominions a country whose loss he had so deeply felt, and of whose numerous advantages he was fully aware. He therefore hastened to signify to them his approbation of their conduct, and to give them encouragement; and to that effect wrote with his own hand the following letter from Scharding, which added,

if possible, fresh force to the ardour already manifested amongst them.

" My dear and faithful Tyrolese,

" Since the sacrifices which the unfortunate events of the year 1805 compelled me to make, when I was obliged to separate from you (a separation which was so painful to me), my heart has been constantly with you, my honest and affectionate children, and you have always acknowledged me as your kind and well-wishing father.

" As a last proof of my affection, when these circumstances obliged me to part from you, I made a stipulation for the preservation of your constitution; and it has given me the greatest pain to see this stipulation disregarded, which I had made for your advantage; but alas! at that time I was unable to assist you, and could only lament your fate in private.

" When a new cause obliged me again to draw my sword, my first thought was to become again your father. An army was put in motion to effect your deliverance, but before it could meet our common enemy you had by your gallantry struck a decisive blow, and proved to the whole world as well as to myself, what you are ready to do to become again a part of that kingdom

under which for centuries past you have lived contented and happy.

"Your efforts have touched my heart—I know your courage; I am ready to meet all your wishes and to count you amongst the best and most faithful subjects in the Austrian dominions. It will be my earnest endeavour to prevent our being again separated; millions who were long your brothers, will be eager to draw their swords in the cause. I trust, therefore, in you, and you may rely on me; so by God's assistance, Austria and the Tyrol will again be united as they were for a long series of years.

"FRANCIS."

"*Scharding*, 18*th April*, 1809."

The following answer was returned from the Tyrol:

"The powers of language are inadequate to express the filial love and gratitude, as well as the enthusiasm produced by your Majesty's most gracious letter, dated Scharding, the 18th April, of this year, in the hearts of your faithful subjects, the Tyrolese.

"Your Majesty assures us of your gracious and powerful protection, and that you will never let us be deprived of the rights and privileges of our ancestors; to realize which assurance, your faith-

ful Tyrolese have unanimously sworn to sacrifice all their property and the last drop of their blood.

" Your Majesty has appointed an army of your own to defend the faithful country of the Tyrol, and has given the command of it to Field Marshal Marquis Chastelar, one of the most prudent, valiant and expert Generals in your service, and our countryman. And your Majesty has placed under him General Buol, a noble worthy man, who exerts himself on all occasions for the welfare of our country.

" Your Majesty has appointed as your Intendant in the Tyrol, our historian and favourite, Baron Hormayr; all of them men of the greatest confidence, and generally esteemed in the country.

" Your Majesty, at length, in a moment of the most pressing necessity, has most graciously given us pecuniary assistance, and to the sum of 200,000 florins has added a supply of ammunition and artillery, which was of the greatest service to us. Gifts whose importance we feel to the fullest extent, but it is beyond our power to give expression to those feelings.

" How happy we are at knowing that your Majesty is graciously pleased to recollect the ardour of our affection, and the unanimity of our resolution. Certainly the mischances of war

do not bend the Tyrolese. Supported by your Majesty we will persevere to the last extremity, and convince the whole world, as well as yourself, that it would be easier to extirpate the whole race of the Tyrolese from the face of the earth, than to diminish their affection and attachment to your Majesty and the House of Austria.

"We humbly recommend ourselves and the whole country to your favour and grace.

"We are,

"Most sacred Majesty,

"Your most submissive and faithful Servants,

"FOUR STATES OF THE TYROL."

"*Innspruck*, 1*st May*, 1809."

On the 14th April Hormayr was at Botzen, from whence he wrote to General Fenner, whom he urged to join him, that he might cheer the people by his presence, and with the news of the victory at Innspruck. On the 18th, Hofer, with the peasants of the Passeyr valley, and the rest of the men under his command, marched into Botzen. Hormayr met him, attended by his suite, at the Abbey Gries, and conducted him to the town; but the cold and haughty reception of General Marschall piqued the vanity of a man who had been made so much of by Chastelar and Hormayr, and was probably the

cause of the subsequent misunderstanding between them.

The troops were immediately put in motion towards Trent and Lavis, in order to spread the insurrection, by assisting the insurgents in that part of the country, and to enclose the enemy in as small a space as possible. General Lemoine, who had fled from Brixen, immediately retreated into the Ritten Mountains, and soon afterwards joined Baraguay d'Hilliers. The landsturm from Meran and the Vintsghaw advanced on the right side of the Etsch; and those of Etsch and Fleims to the left over Kaltern and Tramin towards the passes of Rochetta and Bucco di Vela, the possession of which would in a great degree facilitate their operations towards Trent.

In the mean time Chastelar laboured hard to bring the peasants into some sort of discipline. He organized a corps of cavalry, and distributed arms amongst many who, till then, possessed no better weapons than spears of their own manufacture; and while the operations of the army in the south continued to be actively carried on, he dispatched Baron Taxis with a strong corps of Austrians and Tyrolese under his command, to make an incursion in the north, and advancing by Kempten, Kauftbeuern and Augsburg, to pass Wolfertshaufen and alarm Munich.

The Generals Teimer and Hormayr had pressed

Chastelar repeatedly to attack the army in the South of the Tyrol at once, and, if possible, to drive it entirely out of the country. They now urged it in stronger terms than ever, representing at the same time the dangerous situation of Brixen, and setting forth the consequence of that place to the Tyrolese, till Chastelar listened at length to their entreaties and began his march southward. On the 20th, Lieutenant Colonel Count Leiningen, who had become a great favorite with the Tyrolese, and especially with Hofer, advanced to the very gates of Trent in order to reconnoitre, but was obliged to retreat on being attacked by the enemy, as they were so superior in numbers, but not before he had taken several prisoners in the skirmish. This was the first time the Tyrolese of the South had been engaged. The sharpshooters of Botzen and Schlanders under the Captains Gasser and Frischman distinguished themselves particularly, and took several prisoners; the whole party were deservedly praised for their gallant conduct in this affair.

On the 21st, Chastelar received news of the Archduke John's victory at Sacile, and on the same day issued his orders and his plan for the attack of Trent. The commanding officers received their directions, and Hofer was appointed to the command of the right wing, consisting of

the Passeyr and Etschthal peasants. At this moment Hormayr received an express from Lieutenant Colonel Goldlin of the Chasseurs, who said that he had possessed himself of the pass of Bucco di Vela; that the enemy had sprung the bridge of Lavis, and were seen retreating in strong parties over the mountains towards Roveredo, and that they had made preparations for destroying the great bridge of Lorenzo upon the Etsch; circumstances which prove that this hasty retreat was in consequence of the Archduke John's victory. Hofer dispatched letters to the officers under his command, giving them directions how to proceed, and remained himself at head-quarters, where he found better cheer than elsewhere, and therefore preferred it to the hardships of a camp; to which Hormayr, who expected more from his presence and the effect of his name than from his knowledge of military affairs, readily agreed.

On the 22d, the enemy evacuated Trent without firing a shot, and the chief part of their force passed the night at Matarello, only a league distant from it. Hormayr and Teimer entered the town late on the same evening.

Although the inhabitants of Roveredo were disposed to assist the cause, they objected to the organization of militia in their neighbourhood as well as at Trent, saying, that people who had

been accustomed from their infancy to the sedentary occupation of silk-spinning were unfit for a military life, and unable to bear arms. In the neighbourhood of the Lago di Garda a few companies of volunteers had formed themselves; but these were for the most part deserters from the Italian army, or men who had fled from the conscription, and they committed so many excesses, that Hormayr at length found it necessary partly to mix them with more orderly and disciplined troops, and partly to disarm them entirely, and to this effect the following proclamation was published:*—

* "In consequence of the excesses and irregularity of the companies of Italian Sharpshooters, who ramble about in the neighbourhood of the Lago di Garda, and have forced the peaceful inhabitants to take up arms for their own defence, we have issued these orders. Most of the individuals that compose them being foreigners, we cannot expect that they should be attached to the country: it would be therefore advisable to organise some regular Italian sharpshooters immediately, who will not commit the same depredations, but who, by defending the frontiers, may assert their independence and prove their affection for our beloved Prince. We then should hear no more complaints on account of the violence and insults offered to the people.

We therefore order as follows:

"1st. That all the wandering companies of Italian Sharpshooters, viz. those of Meneghelli, Bertelli, Belluti, Collini, Cantonati, Chiesi, and Frizzi, who are now in the neigh-

On Rusca's advance to Trent, the inhabitants* of Sulzberg and Nonsberg were ordered to the

bourhood of the Lago di Garda and the Lederthal, be dispersed, and that the officers be responsible for their immediate dismission.

" 2dly. All these officers may, however, be charged with the command of new organized companies.

" 3dly. That the subaltern officers and privates who are not natives of the country or settled foreigners, do either take up arms for our cause, or do show themselves to the magistrate to prove that they are willing to earn their bread, and promise to conduct themselves in an orderly manner; they must otherwise quit the country within eight days.

" 4thly. If any of these Italian companies are found in the district of the Etsch, or in any other district, after the publication of the circular, either from the Commander-in-Chief or the Intendant, they are to be immediately dispersed as is directed in the foregoing paragraphs.

" 5thly. The public, after this proclamation, are required to assist these companies no longer, but are ordered to use every means in their power, to induce them to espouse the holy cause.

" Not only the army, but the governors of districts are required to enforce the execution of these orders throughout the country.

" Christian Count Leiningen,
Lieutenant Colonel and
Commandant in the South Tyrol.

" Charles Von Menz,
Deputy Intendant
in the Tyrol.

" *Trent*, 26*th June*, 1809."

* Alexander Stanchina, who possessed most of the property about Sulzberg, a man of great influence in the country, of a good understanding and very zealous in the cause, had distinguished himself on several occasions at the opening of affairs,

right wing, in order to cut off his retreat through the Etschthal. In spite of these precautions, however, he escaped through the Suganthal, where Baron Schmidt had been ordered to take up his position, but unfortunately had not obeyed his orders with sufficient promptitude.

The peasants of the Suganthal, especially those of the mountainous districts of Castelalto, Ivano and Tesino, (with the exception of Levico and Borgo, who were alarmed at the approach of Rusca) had manifested great ardour in the cause. Those on the south eastern frontier on the territory of Belluno remained during four weeks

but on the appearance of Malanotti, suddenly retired. Malanotti, whose prevailing passion was ambition, had made himselt popular amongst the people by the energetic manner in which he spoke of their prospect of liberty, and by the liberality with which he distributed his money; but having once gained a sort of rank amongst the peasants, and fancying himself feared, he assumed a haughtiness and arrogance which the pride of Stanchina could not endure, and he therefore retired to Lavis.—Tactei, from Croviana, who had in the beginning shown equal ardour, and was equally zealous in the cause, was also annoyed at the overbearing manner and folly of Malanotti, and retired in disgust. Malanotti, therefore, with very little talent, and a head too much heated by success to be of any service to him, found himself master of the field; but instead of pursuing any settled line of policy, he refused to obey any orders, and determined to act only as might seem best to his own fancy.

under arms; and without the assistance of any regular troops, not only repulsed a strong force of the enemy, but obliged them entirely to evacuate the districts of Bassano and Belluno. The enthusiasm displayed in these districts was such, that the women took an active part in the hostilities, and aided each other to hurl down stones upon the enemy's troops in the narrow defiles. A girl of eighteen, named Josephine Negretti, assumed the dress of a man, and was several times in action with the sharpshooters, carrying a rifle and using it with considerable dexterity. Among the natives of this small district, Casimir Bosio and Charles Savoi were particularly distinguished, and were appointed by Hormayr to the rank of majors, as well as the brave Ottavio Bianchi, whom the Archduke John made chief of the Tyrolese Volunteers: he was taken prisoner at Belluno in June, and was shot at Mantua as one of the rebellious chiefs, leaving a wife and a large family of young children to lament his untimely end. Bianchi died like a hero, exclaiming in his last moments "long live the Emperor Francis."

The Val di Fiemme had been particularly distinguished at the breaking out of the insurrection: the inhabitants of this valley had been irritated by the conduct of the Bavarian colonel Dittfurt,

who, in attempting to raise recruits, had treated them with the greatest insolence and severity. On the advance of General Rusca, in the beginning of May, these peasants joining in the Cembra, the inhabitants of that valley and those of Neumarkt formed the left wing of the *landsturm* under the command of Delugan. The small but patriotic town of Salurn raised several companies, who placed themselves under the direction of Joseph Bombardi, who had been one of the deputies sent to the Archduke at Villach. At Neumarkt, the post-master Pardatscher took an active and distinguished part.

On the 23d, at noon, Chastelar dispatched a party to reconnoitre the movements of Baraguay d'Hilliers; but as he was still in motion, it was difficult to say whether he intended to take up his position in the pass of Murazzi, or in the famous post of Calliano. But on the morning of the 24th Chastelar broke up his position, and advanced towards Trent with the Hohenzollern light horse, the Lusignan, Hohenlohe, and Bartenstein regiments of infantry, and two battalions of Carinthian militia. Lieutenant Colonel Ertel commanded the left wing in the mountains, and General Fenner the right, with Leiningen and Goldlin, while a large body of

patriots, commanded by Hofer, were between Trent and Romagnano.

On the same day the two armies engaged at Volano. It has never been clearly understood why Chastelar, after a hurried and fatiguing march, was tempted to engage with an enemy so superior to him in numbers. However, although, Baraguay d'Hilliers was victorious, he reaped no advantages from his victory. He had already abandoned Trent, and the important communication between the Brentathal and Valsaguna, and he now retreated from the pass of Murazzi immediately after the battle, evacuated Roveredo, and quitted the country entirely.

Chastelar had scarcely taken up his quarters at Roveredo, when the news reached him of the ill-success at Landshut and Regensberg, and of Jellachich's hasty retreat towards Salzburg. The whole of the north of the Tyrol was now exposed to the enemy, and the communication with Vienna was in danger of being cut off. In this state of affairs, Chastelar gave up the hopes he had formed of being able to join the Archduke John in the Etschthal, and turning his attention towards the north, ordered a division of his army to march in that direction, which orders were immediately obeyed, and on the 29th the troops were in motion.

Immediately after the battle of Monte Cerrino, the Archduke John began his retreat from Verona, but his troops were incessantly harassed during their march by Beauharnois, who, having strengthened his cavalry, kept up a continual fight with the Austrians. The Archduke therefore determined to throw himself with the remains of his small army, consisting of fifteen squadrons of cavalry, four battalions of grenadiers, and thirteen of light infantry, into the Tyrol, and with the assistance of Chastelar, to defend it to the last extremity. General Schmidt commanded the advanced guard during the march.

Baraguay d'Hilliers and Rusca were in the neighbourhood of Trent, with 15,000 men, and hastened through the Brentathal in order to attack the Archduke in his rear, while Beauharnois met Schmidt at Bassano. Meanwhile Schmidt, instead of hastening over the mountains to join the Tyrolese, where in conjunction with Leiningen he might have harassed the Viceroy, remained till it was too late to effect it; and when the Archduke ordered him to join Chastelar, he found it impossible to obey his orders.

During the action at Saint Bonifacio (30th April) the Archduke wrote the following note in pencil on his knee.

"This is a new method of writing letters, but the enemy keep up a brisk cannonade, and I have no other paper. Veyder will tell you himself what I have not time to write. The enemy are aware of their successes in Germany, and they hoped to have the same here, but to day we have beaten them. They attack us while it is of the greatest importance to me to keep clear of them. Give my compliments to Hormayr, and tell him, that I hope soon to see him in his own country. Do not allow the misfortunes which have befallen us in Germany to make you uneasy: we have done our duty, and we will defend the Tyrol, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola and Salzburg, to the last drop of our blood. It is in this fortress, aided by our brave mountaineers, that we ought to conquer or to die for the glory of our ancestors and our arms. I shall not retire to Hungary—Adieu.

"JOHN."

"30*th April*, 1809."

On the 3d of May the Archduke sent the following letters from Montechio Maggiore:—

1. *To Hormayr.*

"Our ill fortune in Germany has forced me to cease acting on the offensive, and to direct

my attention to the safety of those provinces which are of so much consequence to Austria. But I shall endeavour in my retreat to take every possibility of annoying the enemy. Do not be alarmed; the Tyrol shall never be forsaken. I have commanded a brigade to march there in order to reinforce Field Marshal Chastelar; I will defend the Tyrol and the interior of Austria to the last extremity, and I believe I shall benefit the state much and annoy the enemy more by marching to Comorn.

"Activity shall not be wanting on our part. Perhaps we trifle with fortune, but we may yet render our country a real service. It will be advisable to make this generally known in the country. We will hope for the best—the wind does not always blow in the same quarter, and you I know will not fail us.

"ARCHDUKE JOHN."

2. *To Chastelar.*

"I send you General Schmidt with a brigade of infantry, 4 squadrons of Hohenzollern horse, and a brigade of artillery. He advances over Bassano through Valsugana to Trent or Lavis; you will send him word where to meet you that he may know how to act. I am beginning to retreat slowly. You will send me word of every

thing that happens to you, and in return you shall hear of my movements. Should I retreat as far as Piava, or even further towards Carinthia, I shall take care to make such dispositions at the entrances of Krauzburg and Cadore as shall ensure the communication with the Pusterthal. I am writing to Field Marshal Jellachich to command him to defend the mountains of the Emsthal; I beg, therefore, that you will acquaint me with all his proceedings. You will march home 2 battalions of the Judenburg and two of the Bruck militia, as they are probably wanted to protect their flocks. We have not many troops, but I hope sufficient to defend our mountains; at all events, I will leave you the troops you already have with you in the Tyrol, and the brigade you expect. F. M. Jellachich will defend the mountains of Salzburg and the pass of Steyermarck with the militia of that place and that of the neighbourhood of the Ems. He will also send F. M. Guilay Banus, to Krain, who with the insurgent Kroats and the militia of Krain may defend the Isonzo, cover Trieste and enable General Stoichevich to march into Dalmatia. A small force, composed of Carinthian and Pusterthal militia, will secure the passes between Italy and the Tyrol. I myself, with my small army, will be every where, where

danger threatens.—This is my plan in a few words. The recruiting will continue in Inner Austria, and I shall take care to make such dispositions that neither provisions nor ammunition may fail us in the Tyrol.

"ARCHDUKE JOHN."

Lieutenant Colonel Count Leiningen remained alone with his detachment in the Italian Tyrol—he was attacked near Roveredo and obliged to yield to a superiority of numbers and retire; General Marschall retreated to Botzen. On the 2d of May Trent was retaken by General Rusca; but he did not remain there long. The sub-intendant Menz summoned in haste the landsturm, while Leiningen kept his position courageously at Lavis. Rusca, thus finding himself surrounded by a formidable body of armed peasants, did not wait for their attack, but made a hasty retreat through Valsaguna to Bassano, where it was probable that he would have fallen in with Schmidt.

At this moment Hofer at the head of a large body of peasants joined Leiningen, and although no action had yet taken place, their union was hailed by the people as the most favourable omen. This probably was increased by the universal dislike evinced for General Marschall,

whose hasty retreat was looked upon by the peasants as a proof of cowardice and want of ardour, though in reality it had been ordered by Chastelar.—Marschall was a man of considerable talent, and an officer who had, perhaps, more knowledge in military matters than any one engaged in the cause, nor was he at all deficient in personal courage; but he was never a favourite amongst the Tyrolese nor even his own soldiers. —He was haughty and distant in his manners to them, and had a notion that no man who had not already distinguished himself as a soldier, was fit to command, and he was, therefore, very unwilling to act in concert with any of the chiefs of the undisciplined insurgents; he even carried his ill-timed haughtiness so far as to object to dine at the same table with their favourite Hofer.—This refusal, as might have been expected, was instantly and warmly resented, and a deputation was sent to the Archduke to complain of his conduct. The consequence was that Marschall was removed from his command, and Count Leiningen was appointed to succeed him;—Hofer, at the same time, was directed to act under him without restraint.

Leiningen was the idol of the common people—without any brilliant talents, an exterior

in no way remarkable, and manners that did not appear at all calculated to please or attract, he was always surrounded by crowds when he spoke in public; and the peasants seemed eager to follow wherever he led them—heedless of danger, provided he was with them. He remained commandant in the south of the Tyrol until the final evacuation of that loyal and unfortunate country.

Jellachich had been ordered to defend Radstadt and Werfen, and the important passes of Steyermark and Lueg;—Chastelar, therefore, hearing that the enemy had been driven back from Lueg in their attempt to force that pass, hoped that the capture of Kufstein would follow, and relied on Jellachich, not only for the defence of Salzburg, but for an active assistance in the north of the Tyrol.—Jellachich, however, instead of realizing these hopes remained inactive, and manifested throughout the meanest jealousy of Chastelar.

On the 4th of May a proclamation was issued at Innspruck addressed to the inhabitants of the Salzburg mountains, in order to rouse them to activity.

"Honest and faithful inhabitants of the Salzburg mountains!—The enemy with all their powers have gained an advantage over a single

corps of the German army, and now beset the capital of your country.

" This important place must be again set free in a few days, and the communication with Austria again opened, by those brave troops who under my command have cleared in fifteen days the whole country from Lienz to Innspruck and from Innspruck to Peri; who have given way neither to fatigue nor danger, and who in religion, proximity of country, and valour, are brothers to the Tyrolese.

" You have felt the mild sway of our beloved Emperor's sceptre—you have learnt how strongly fortified you are by your mountains, and you are equally interested in the cause of liberty.

" Rouse yourselves, then.—Let the brave Pinzgauer hasten towards Taxenbach, Luftenstein and Schneiselreit;—Pongauer to Werfen and Lueg;—and you, brave Eilerthaler and Brixenthaler, prove, as you did on the heights of Rattenberg, and on the bridge of Rotholtz, now, on the scenes of the defeats of the Bavarians, that you are indeed brothers of the Tyrolese.

" He who yet hesitates is an enemy to his country, and whoever opposes the insurrection, either by word or by deed, will be given up to the just fury of the people.

"We shall expect a deputation from you—we are ready to do any thing for your encouragement, and we shall see what will be the effect of your courage.

"MARQUIS CHASTELAR, &c. &c.

"JOSEPH BARON HORMAYR, &c. &c."

"*Innspruck, 4th May*, 1809."

By the junction of the Salzburgers, the right flank of the Tyrolese, as well as the sources of the Ens and the Muhr, were protected, the interior of Austria rendered secure, and the communication preserved.—This part of the army was to act entirely on the defensive, while the other was to carry on the war with as much activity as possible. It was of the greatest importance to secure an undisturbed possession of the Vorarlberg;—because it opened a communication with Switzerland, and kept the whole of the west of the Tyrol, from Veltlin to Kempten, free from attack—while it rendered the importation of corn from Swabia by the lake of Constance more easy, in spite of the menaces of Tallyrand and the intrigues of the French in the Swiss Cantons of St. Gallen and Thurgau.

The intelligence from Salzburg was far from cheering. The Bavarian army under the com-

mand of the Duke of Dantzig (Lefevre) was advancing rapidly towards Lienz, and the spirits of the patriots, particularly at Innspruck, were much damped, as if they already prognosticated a change of affairs in favour of the enemy.

On the 11th of May, the enemy made an attempt to relieve Kufstein, and after a well contested conflict, supported by only two companies of regular militia and four of sharpshooters against the whole of Lieutenant General Wrede's division, the Tyrolese were obliged to abandon the pass of Strub.—It happened to be Ascension Day, and the peasants were partly at church, and partly taking advantage of the holiday to enjoy themselves, and it is probable that the enemy had been aware of this, and had purposely chosen that day for their attack. The commandant of Strub, Stainer of Waidring, was absent, and it was some time before he could be found to head his troops—while General Wrede was expecting hourly to be joined by the Crown Prince and Lieutenant General Deroy.

The battle of Wörgl (13th May) was fought under equal disadvantages, the force of the enemy being much superior.—In this action the Austrians lost all their ammunition, baggage, &c. and the principal officers very narrowly escaped being made prisoners—yet the Bava-

rians did not take all the advantage they might of their victory; had they pushed on to Halle and Innspruck the same night, they might have prevented the junction of the Tyrolese forces, and neither Chastelar nor Hormayr could have escaped.—For some days previous to the action, a considerable part of the Austrians had been dispersed about the country, so that the whole force on their side consisted of 3000 men, 900 only of which were troops of the line, the rest being composed of Carinthian militia who had never been in action, with only six guns and seventy of the Hohenzollern light horse;* while the Bavarian force consisted of 18,000 regular troops, 1700 horse and above thirty guns. The peasants did not take much part in the action, and showed themselves only occasionally in scattered parties in the mountains, keeping up, from time to time, an irregular and ill-directed fire which was of no service.

Hormayr had marched early on the same morning, by Chastelar's desire, to meet the column of Baron Buol which was advancing by Scharnitz, and it was not till late in the evening that the intelligence of the defeat at the pass of

* The French, in their account of the battle, say, that they took 700 prisoners and eleven guns.

Strub reached him at Bavarian Mittewald;—he hurried back to Innspruck the same night, and arrived there just as the defeated Austrians were flying towards that city.—Chastelar immediately joined him, concerted plans for future operations, and in twenty-four hours his orders were executed.—Lieutenant Colonel Ertel took up an important position on the Brenner, while General Marschall put himself at the head of the reserve at Brixen.

On the night of the 15th, Hormayr advanced over the Brenner with the Rodenecker landsturm to Steinach, where he again joined Chastelar, whom he found seriously ill from the effects of several severe wounds, as well as from mixed feelings of indignation and grief which he felt at the indecent treatment he had met with at Halle, on the night of his retreat, when a party of drunken peasants attempted to drag him from his horse.*

* "The rage of the Tyrolese against Chastelar was so great, that, when after the affair at Wörgl, he took refuge at Halle, they attacked him with cudgels, and gave him such a drubbing, that he kept his bed for two days and durst not venture to make his appearance, except to request a capitulation: he was told, however, that no capitulation would be granted to a highway robber, upon which he fled towards the mountains of Carinthia."—*French papers.*

The Tyrol had begun again to be visited by misfortunes, and the brilliant success with which the insurrection had commenced was not of long duration. Chastelar who had been the great author and conductor of every plan, was so much vexed at his treatment, that the ardour which he had displayed in the cause evidently relaxed; and the Austrians were, in general, hurt (and with justice) at the conduct of the Tyrolese, who had abandoned them in the heat of action, deserting their own cause, and giving up their protectors to the fury of their enemies.

The Bavarians, on the other hand, gained daily some new advantage, and every town and village through which they passed, bore marks of some outrageous excess of cruelty too horrible to relate.* They spared neither the aged nor

* The German author enters into a minute and circumstantial description of these cruelties, but I have purposely omitted them. A reader of sensibility is only disgusted by such horrors, and the information conveyed to him does not compensate for the pain which the recital excites.

Among other places the town of Schwarz was destroyed; the Tyrolese say, that the Bavarians wantonly set fire to it, and assisted and encouraged the fury of the flames till every house was demolished. The Bavarians, however, give a different account.

"When the Van approached the town of Schwarz, an Austrian battalion, some cavalry, some battalions of the Landwehr, and some rebels, were perceived advancing. Baron Wrede in-

the helpless; old men, women, and children, were alike objects of their insatiable rage; and

stantly caused the artillery to be brought up, in order to turn them back; but they threw themselves into the town, and it was easy to perceive that they (the Austrians) had formed the desperate resolution of defending it. As the ground was favourable, Baron Wrede himself led on the Leiningen regiment of light infantry to the attack of the Austrian battalion; that was routed, and great numbers of them put to the sword or taken prisoners. A part of the Austrians, with the rebels, threw themselves into the town, while another part attempted to destroy the bridge, but they were prevented by the Kasper's battery. The carabineers of the 1st brigade having made themselves masters of the suburbs, a battalion of the 3d Regiment of Duke Charles entered to take the town by storm. Baron Wrede penetrated twice into the town, but was forced twice to retreat to the principal church, as the Austrians and rebels fired from the houses upon the Bavarians. At length the 13th Regiment of infantry stormed the place. All who were in the streets or houses were put to the sword or taken prisoners. Among the latter, were three captains and 182 soldiers of the Austrian regiment Devaux. The slaughter was dreadful, and the courage of our troops incomparable!

"Scarcely were our troops in bivouac, when the two suburbs were set on fire by the howitzer grenades which had been thrown in, and in half an hour they were in flames. The inhabitants having fled, the Lieutenant General sent part of two regiments to extinguish the flames; there being no engines or vessels of any kind at hand to convey water for that purpose, they did not succeed till the following day, and then not without great trouble and difficulty. In the evening, at eight o'clock, a high wind arose, which blew the sparks upon the roofs of the

Bavaria will ever have cause to blush at the recollection of crimes which will be a deep stain upon her name and her honour. If these cruelties were exercised from policy, it was a very mistaken policy, for they were not calculated to subdue the popular feeling in the Tyrol; and although in many places the Bavarians had spread terror on their approach, their conduct rather served to irritate than to terrify the peasants, and excited them to carry on the war, if not with the same ardour, yet with a sort of desperate desire of vengeance which was equally terrible to their enemies.

The military operations in the Tyrol proceeded however, with much less alacrity. In Innspruck there was a difference of opinion; the citizens being awed by the success of the Bavarians were anxious to submit, while the peasants were strenuous for a continuance of hostilities, and declared their determination of fighting to the last extremity. On the 17th of May a council of war was held on the Brenner to deliberate upon the future operations of the army, but in the mean time Chastelar arrived

houses which had hitherto escaped. The remainder of the town caught fire, there was nothing to oppose the flames; and this town once so flourishing has been converted into a heap of ashes and ruins."—*Bavarian Papers, May* 20.

at Sterzing to join the Archduke with all the troops under his command, as he was determined, though inferior in strength, to dispute the ground with the enemy step by step. He, therefore, immediately commanded a retreat from the Brenner, and advanced without delay to Mulhbach, and, on the following day, to Brunecken. At Mittewald he was overtaken by Teimer, who had previously communicated with the Bavarians, and who now urged him in the most earnest manner not to abandon them, but to complete the promises of assistance he had so frequently given them to terminate a war which had been so gloriously begun. He urged strongly the dislike which the Bavarians evidently felt to the continuation of a war with an irritated peasantry, carried on with so much irregularity and detriment to themselves. He pleaded their excuses for the unpardonable cruelties committed by the soldiery, and stated that they were prepared to negociate amicably and evacuate the country. Chastelar listened to his persuasions, and at length dispatched him with Baron Beyder to endeavour to negociate a treaty, which it is probable the Bavarians never intended to open, and which they certainly never did negociate.

During four-and-twenty hours the enemy in

the Lower Innthal had remained quiet. But Wrede had received intelligence of the discord prevailing at Innspruck and Halle, and determining not to lose so favourable an opportunity of striking a blow, advanced up the left shore of the Inn with so much rapidity, that on the arrival of Beyder and Teimer, they found him already on the plains of Bompar. He treated them with great contempt, and giving back to the former Chastelar's dispatch unopened, presented him, at the same time, with the act of outlawry issued against him by Napoleon; adding, that if he ever fell into his hands, he should suffer immediate death. Teimer, to whom he had a few days before offered the rank of Major in his army, on condition that he would attempt to appease the irritation of the peasantry, he now treated with peculiar insolence, and threatened more than once during the interview to make him prisoner, although he came under a flag of truce. They returned therefore, burning with indignation, to Chastelar, who was still at Brunecken, where he afterwards received orders from the Archduke to remain in the Tyrol, and to defend it to the last.

Chastelar, therefore, once more turned all his thoughts to the assistance of the Tyrolese. He hastened from Brunecken back to Muhl-

bach, summoned the landsturm, and ordered the position on the Brenner to be again taken up. Hormayr and Teimer, at the same time, formed a plan of passing through Etschland and the Vintsghaw to the Upper Innthal, from whence they might reach the capital, and either dislodge the enemy from their present position, or at least oblige them to divide their force, by which means they would be more exposed to the irregular warfare of the mountaineers.

The head-quarters of Chastelar were, in the mean time, a scene of constant dispute; Hormayr and Beyder being of opinion that the Tyrol ought on no account to be abandoned, but, on the contrary, to be defended to the last extremity; while General Marschall and Major Lebzeltern were only anxious to leave a country which was disagreeable to them, and where they were universally disliked. These disputes naturally gave rise to so many contradictory orders, that the troops were unable to comprehend them, and General Buol, who commanded the advanced guard, was frequently at a loss where to march his men. On the 15th of May he received orders to remain stationary with his division on the Brenner; but on the same day, in the afternoon, he was ordered to advance

immediately to Innspruck; on the 16th, early in the morning, he was ordered to retreat over the Ellenbogen to the Brenner, but to defend the castle of Friedberg to the last; during the day he was commanded to march from Innspruck to Steinach, and in the evening was ordered to remain at Innspruck. Thus the General was kept in a constant state of doubt and uncertainty; so that while his troops were harassed by daily marches and countermarches he was at a loss how to proceed, and unable to act on the offensive.—To these contradictory orders which continued to be issued during several days, we add an extract of a letter from General Marschall to Buol, dated Laditscher Bridge, 21st of May.

" It is your desire to know the situation of Field Marshal Chastelar. Circumstances and his increased indisposition induced him to depart an hour ago from Muhlbach to Lienz.—Before his departure he wrote an order consigning to you the command of all the troops in the Tyrol, and he gave me to understand that he had done so. The Field Marshal found it necessary, however, to command Colonel Volkman to march with two battalions of Johann Jellachich, four companies of 2d Banal, and four 3-pounders to Lienz, with which he hopes to be

able to reach the narrow passes, and to make an opening for this corps as well as for himself.

" I am still ignorant of the state of affairs at Saxenburg and Griefenburg, but I conceive that this evening General Schmïdt will be officially informed of it. It is, however, certain that a battalion which was ordered to march from the Gailthal to Saxenburg has not reached it, and that the bridge of Saxenburg has been carried. The enemy is at Spital with 2000 men, and Field Marshal Jellachich has joined the army of the Archduke."

In the mean time Chastelar was retreating towards Lienz with the intention of leaving the country; and it was reported by the Bavarians and French, that the Austrians had abandoned the Tyrol, and that the insurrection was completely subdued. Many of the peasants deceived by these reports retired to their homes, giving up a cause which they considered as hopeless, while others more courageous, and, perhaps, more averse from the Bavarian government, were still determined to resist all attempts to subdue them. Amongst these Hofer bore a conspicuous part; Chastelar had presented him with a handsome sword and a pair of pistols as a reward for his conduct, and proud of what he considered so great a mark of distinction, he ap-

peared at the head of the Passeyrthal peasants, who had already distinguished themselves on several occasions, and who now proved true to a cause which had been abandoned by so many of their countrymen.

Hormayr and Teimer, who were determined to pursue to the utmost the plan they had formed for the deliverance of their country, increased their activity; and although affairs did not wear so favourable an appearance as formerly, they put themselves at the head of their men, and prepared to make a desperate effort to regain their liberty. Meanwhile it was reported that the enemy had again taken possession of the Brenner, and Leiningen was ordered to march without delay to the heights of Schabs, and, if possible, to join Chastelar. The unfortunate affair at Worgl which had been the first cause of the retreat of the Austrians, and the loss of Innspruck, by which it was immediately followed; had an evident effect on the minds of the peasantry, and while Hormayr was exerting himself to rouse them again to that state of enthusiasm from which they had fallen, the extraordinary conduct of Lebzeltern and the backwardness of Leiningen convinced them that their cause was abandoned by the Austrians. As Hormayr approached the Innthal he found

the people every where shy of joining him, and at every step he had some new difficulty to contend with. The militia called aloud for their arrears of pay, while others said they would not fight for a government which had so basely deserted them. An obscure individual, Rungger of Nauders, added fuel to this spirit of disaffection by encouraging and assisting the distribution of Bavarian proclamations, and by using every means in his power to render Hormayr unpopular. This treachery, however, did not escape notice; Hormayr ordered the man to be apprehended; but he made his escape, and concealed himself at St. Maria in the Munsterthal in the dress of a peasant, where, however, he was afterwards discovered and delivered up to Hormayr at Meran.

General Buol still continued on the Brenner in a wretched state, being totally destitute of money and ammunition. Hormayr in the mean time was actively employed in keeping up a communication with Switzerland, from whence he received through the mountains, under various pretences, supplies of provisions, arms, ammunition, &c. notwithstanding the avowed neutrality of the Swiss. Veltlin had been a scene of continual disturbance, and although General Polfrancheschi contrived to

keep the cities on the plains in subjection, the mountains were occupied by the insurgents, who on the 21st of May delivered at Tirano, a body of 500 conscripts, and 200 peasants, that had been taken prisoners; the Tyrol had nothing therefore to fear in that quarter.

The constant fatigue and exertion to which Hormayr was necessarily exposed, combined with the anxiety which preyed upon his mind, brought on a low fever, and he was for some time wholly unfit for active service. In the midst of his sufferings, however, he never for a moment lost sight of the cause which was so dear to him; and by his exertion Innspruck was once more relieved from the enemy, and for a time affairs wore a brighter aspect. Teimer had advanced by Zirl and Martinswand straight to the Bavarian line, and was joined by Mahrberger, with the landsturm of Imst, Petersberg and Hortenberg, with whose assistance he intended to cut off the nearest communications with Munich by seizing the important positions of Scharnitz and Laitasch.

The inhabitants of Imst had refused to send any assistance to Hormayr, alleging that since their cause had been deserted by the Austrians, they would not continue to exert themselves, as they saw they could derive no advantage from

it; but on the advance of Teimer, several of the principal citizens joined him, among whom were the Burgomasters Strele and Stecher, with three companies, declaring that they were resolved to share his fate whatever might be the result of his efforts. In Reutti the peasants were still less inclined to continue the war, and had not only openly submitted to Bavaria, but had possessed themselves of the booty taken by Teimer in Swabia, that they might have something to produce when the Bavarians should demand reparation for the losses they had sustained.

This disaffection to the cause was not, however, general; seven companies from Landeck, and two from Nauders, joined Hormayr; and the people of Lechthal and Aschau, forced the citizens to take up arms, so that 32 companies in a short time occupied the important positions of Roschlag Gacht, Operpinzwang, &c.

From the 13th to the 19th of May the Bavarians had remained almost inactive, and did not take advantage either of the victory gained at Wörgl, of the subsequent disaffection of the peasantry, or of their advantageous positions. This inactivity may perhaps have been owing to the interruption of their regular communications by the incessant and active vigilance of the steady part of the Tyrolese peasantry, who, in the con-

stant apprehension of treachery, destroyed every paper that fell into their hands, whether they understood it or not; the consequence of which was, that several of the Bavarian dispatches, and some of considerable importance, never arrived at the place of their destination. On the 19th, however, in the evening, they advanced to Innspruck. From an intercepted dispatch it appeared that the Duke of Dantzig, on learning that Chastelar had resolved to abandon the Brenner, and to join the Archduke through the Pusterthal, had determined to force the two central positions on the heights of the Brenner and Schabs, to endeavour to open a communication with Italy through Botzen and Trent, and at the same time to pursue Chastelar through the Pusterthal. It appeared also that he had received a courier from Eugene Beauharnois, informing him that the Archduke would be obliged to abandon his position at Villach, but that Jellachich had retreated in order to join him. The duke therefore determined that the division of Deroy should pursue Chastelar, while he himself marched with two divisions through Salzburg to Upper Carinthia, where he would be able to prevent Jellachich's advance, or, at all events, to place the Archduke with his small army between himself and the Viceroy. On the 23d

of May he begun his march from Innspruck, but on the morning of the 25th he met a courier ordering him to proceed immediately towards Lienz.

The state of affairs in the Tyrol on the 25th was as follows: The Etschthal was undisturbed by the enemy. Count Leiningen retained his position at Trent and had begun to fortify Castella. Veltlin and the neutral ground of Switzerland covered the whole of the western frontier. The Vorarlbergers, by the reported capitulation of the Tyrolese, had laid down their arms and dispersed themselves. Bregenz and the country as far as Hohenems was occupied by a strong body of Wurtembergers under the command of Generals Schöler and Roseris, and a division of French under Colonel Grouvelle. In Pludenz, Feldkirk, and the mountainous districts, the peasants were still under arms, and continued to defend themselves with great perseverance, although all the regular troops, except one company and a six-pounder, with Lieutenant Colonel Baron Haagen had deserted them. Reitti and Ehrwald were not much disturbed. The shortest and best road from Innspruck to Munich, by Scharnitz and the Iserthal, was occupied by the division of Count Max Arco, who, with the as-

sistance of General Deroy, kept up the communication with Innspruck. The patroles at Zirl, and on the heights near Seafeld were destroyed. The insurgents of the Upper Vintsghaw and Upper Innthal, under the command of Teimer, were separated into two divisions; that on the left, commanded by Mahrberger, was to retake from the enemy the passes of Scharnitz and Laitasch; while the main body, headed by Teimer in person, extending from Zirl over the heights of Hotting to the Castle of Thauer in the rear of the enemy, was to destroy the bridges of the Inn and the Sill, and to give again the signal for insurrection in the Lower Innthal, which had been for a time quiet; but Speckbacher had been active in urging the people not to abandon the cause, and they were ready to rise again at a moment's warning.

General Buol remained on the Brenner with 2,300 men, 70 horse and six guns, but without ammunition. With the exception of Leiningen's divisions, the whole of Chastelar's corps was in the Drauthal, towards Lienz, partly on the frontiers of the Tyrol, and partly entering Carinthia. He had relieved Clagenfurt from General Rusca, and attacked Saxenburg; his plan was to break through the rear of the enemy by

Spital, and combining his force with Jellachich, to join the Archduke, who was in ambush at Gratz.

The plan of the Archduke was to collect as strong a force as possible in the neighbourhood of Gratz, to begin his operations by attacking Macdonald, and if successful in this attack, then, to act on the offensive with Marmont, Broussier, and Rusca in succession, and thus to prevent their joining the main army, while at the same time he could keep the communication open with the interior of Austria, and the passage to the Tyrol through the Drauthal free; but unfortunately he was unable to execute a plan which had been so ably devised. Jellachich, who was advancing to join him, was attacked and defeated at St. Michael on the 29th May with great slaughter, losing above 100 officers, and 6476 privates; he passed through Lerben and Bruck the day after the battle with scarcely 3000 men.

Hofer in the mean time carried on the war in the Tyrol with unabated activity, and the spirit of the patriots seemed to have gained additional strength from their misfortunes. Hormayr had sent to Hofer a young man who had served in the Italian Chasseurs, named Joseph Eisen-

stecken to act as his Adjutant. Eisenstecken was of a bold and enterprizing character, but of a passionate temper, and in general too hasty and thoughtless in his decision upon subjects that required cool and mature consideration. He was at the same time joined by two Capuchin Friars, Father Joachim Haspinger and Father Peter, they were both young and athletic, and although they never carried arms, were always seen in the thickest of the fight, dealing tremendous blows on the heads of their adversaries, with stout wooden crucifixes, with which they did considerable execution. They also busied themselves in making amulets, or charms, which were to render the wearer invulnerable, but these lost much of their effect when several hundred of the peasants had been killed who were known to have worn them.

Eisenstecken, in spite of his impetuosity, was of the greatest service to the patriotic cause; being enthusiastic in the extreme, and never relinquishing an object which he thought might contribute to the welfare of his country, or the cause in which he was engaged, he used every means in his power to dissuade the Austrians from abandoning the Tyrol; he had twice intercepted the order for General Buol to leave the

Brenner, and when at length the Austrian troops began to move, he threw himself on his knees before them, and conjured them in the most pathetic manner to recollect their desperate situation; to remember that it was for Austria they were fighting, and not to desert a cause, which, without their aid would be hopeless. Hofer in the mean time gave way to useless lamentations, and while he grieved at the retreat of the Austrians, the predominant feeling appeared to be alarm at the prospect of the probable destruction that awaited his country.

The army of the insurgents notwithstanding, increased daily, and Eisenstecken was indefatigable in his exertions to heighten their ardour, and to bring them into some sort of discipline. The greatest difficulty he had to surmount was their excessive dislike of any sort of duty during the night; they could not even be persuaded to mount guard except in the day time. The enemy were probably aware of this, as they attacked them several times during the night.

General Buol had still retained his station on the Brenner, while the troops commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ertel extended themselves along Mount Isel to Wiltau. Here also Hofer, accompanied by his brave Adjutant Eisenstecken and the two Capuchin Friars, appeared

at the head of his men. On the 25th of May he attacked the Bavarian division of Deroy, but not being sufficiently well provided with ammunition, and unable to keep his men in proper order, he was repulsed. For several hours during the action the fate of the day seemed undecided; the Bavarians were twice driven from the heights of Passberg, but their superior strength, and the advantage they derived from their discipline, at length decided it in their favour. The Tyrolese gave way about five in the afternoon, and the contending parties were separated by a tremendous storm. Deroy, however, derived no advantage from this skirmish; for although he had been successful in the engagement, both he and his troops were astonished and alarmed at the valour and intrepidity with which they had been attacked, and he thought it prudent to retreat; at the same time issuing a proclamation of pardon from the King of Bavaria and Buonaparte, stating—" that all the Tyrolese who had not yet laid down their arms might be assured of a gracious pardon both from the Emperor of the French and the King of Bavaria, provided they did so immediately."

To this proclamation Deroy annexed the following letter from himself:

"TYROLEANS!

"Why do you still persevere in your errors? You hope, perhaps, by this means to procure some advantage for yourselves; and yet the effect of such conduct must be, that the Emperor of the French and the King of Bavaria will overrun your country with such a force as will make you feel their power, and overwhelm you with all the horrors of war. Every one who considers the subject reasonably must expect it.

"It grieves me much to see his Majesty's subjects swerve from their duty and their allegiance, and bringing upon themselves inevitable misfortune by their obstinacy. Let me advise you, therefore, honest Tyroleans, to make yourselves worthy of the pardon which is so graciously assured to you, and to return to your duty and your legitimate monarch.

"Tyroleans! have confidence in my advice; send some deputy to me with whom I may confer; few words will suffice to make us understand each other; and I swear solemnly and publicly that those who come to me shall return to you in safety.

"DEROY, *Lieut.-General, and Commandant of the 8th Royal Bavarian Division.*"

"*Head Quarters, Innspruck, 27th May,* 1809."

After the undecisive skirmish on the 25th, Lieutenant Colonel Reissenfels retreated with the left wing of the Tyrolese over Patsch to Ellenbogen, and Colonel Ertel to Matrey; his advanced guard took up their position at Schonberg, and extended the line to Mount Isel. The mountains were at the same time covered with scattered parties of the peasantry in all directions, and General Buol occupied the pass of Lueg on the Brenner, where he remained, in spite of the solicitations of the people who urged him to advance and join the van. They were exceedingly ill provided with ammunition, and were in constant fear that the enemy would discover it, and attack them before they could hope for a fresh supply. Their anxiety on this subject was however considerably lessened, on hearing that the Bavarians were equally deficient in this respect with themselves. On the 26th and 27th they were employed in making cartridges, mustering the companies of sharpshooters, and examining the state of their arms. Eisenstecken laboured hard to keep the people contented, for many had begun to murmur, and express their wish to return home, because the war could not be decided in a few hours; some indeed had already put these threats into execution, and quietly retired, but their places were soon supplied by a reinforcement from Botzen.

The troops who were engaged on the 29th consisted of between 800 and 900 men, 70 horse, with 5 guns, and nearly 18,000 irregular Tyrolese Peasants. The Bavarians had 8,000 foot, 800 horse, and 25 guns. The situation of both parties was critical in the extreme. The want of ammunition was felt most on the side of the Tyrolese and Austrians, who dared not descend into the plain on account of the superiority of the cavalry and artillery of the Bavarians.

The enemy had quiet possession of Innspruck, and were posted round the town in the most advantageous manner possible; some of them, however, were very near the rocks of the adjacent mountains, and they never approached within shot without experiencing the admirable skill with which the Tyrolese peasants used their rifles. The river Sill was on their left flank, while the town and the river Inn protected their rear.

The Bavarians had all advantages on their side except numbers. They had military skill and experience to oppose to the irregular efforts of an undisciplined peasantry. The regular Austrian force opposed to them was very small, the main body of the Tyrolese army consisting of the peasants. They had an ample supply of

provisions, whilst the Tyrolese had nothing but the scanty supply, which they could carry in their knapsacks, and no better arms than a scythe or a hay-fork; and when the stock which they had brought with them was exhausted, they did not scruple to desert and return to their homes. Had the Bavarians therefore kept them in suspense for a short time, many of them would have gone away, and those who remained would have considered delay, as they always did, a forerunner of defeat. Under all these circumstances, it is surprising, that the Bavarians suffered themselves to be brought to action on the ground they then occupied, or that being compelled to engage, they were defeated. The Tyrolese fought under every disadvantage, and although their impetuosity at the moment overcame all obstacles, their leaders confessed, that, situated as they had been, their success was as unlooked for as it was agreeable.

Hormayr had previous to this action remained at Landeck, from whence he kept up a correspondence with Hofer; but Hofer's letters were so wild and his intelligence so inconsistent and unconnected, that he was unable to understand their intentions; and had it not been for a message which he received from Colonel Ertel, he would have been ignorant of the affair of the

29th. Hofer, he heard, passed the principal part of his time at the alehouse; but he was particularly fond of writing and dispatching couriers, without considering the danger they ran of falling into the hands of the enemy, and of disclosing their plans and motions. The following singular letter, which is very characteristic of the man, was addressed by him to the inhabitants of the Upper Innthal:—

"Dear Brethren of the Upper Innthal.—For God, the Emperor, and our dear native country. To-morrow early in the morning is fixed for the attack. With the help of our Holy Mother, we will seize and destroy the Bavarians, and we confide ourselves to the beloved Jesus. Come to our assistance, but if you fancy yourselves wiser than Divine Providence we will do without you.

"Andrew Hofer."

Hormayr, on the 28th, advanced from Landeck to Imst, where he was attacked with a violent inflammatory sore throat, which confined him to his bed, and he could only dictate his orders from thence in a whisper, while his disorder was augmented by the impatience which he felt to lead in person the attack at Scharnitz, where he was persuaded that his intimate know-

ledge of the country would render his presence essentially useful. Count Max Arco had advanced from Scharnitz; but Captains Falk and Count Joseph Mohr met him between Burgberg and Lauterer-See, with the sharpshooters of Landeck and Latsch, and after a short skirmish, completely routed him, taking 83 prisoners (among whom was a Bavarian officer of rank), and one ammunition waggon. The enemy had 27 killed; Count Max Arco's horse was shot under him, which obliged that officer to fly on foot. Teimer, on receiving the news of this success, advanced immediately towards Innspruck.

On the 29th May, the engagement took place which delivered the Tyrol a second time from the Bavarians. The Tyrolese began their march at four o'clock in the morning, in the highest spirits and confident of success, and soon after seven the action commenced. As on the 25th, Colonel Reissenfels commanded the right wing and Colonel Ertel the left. The advanced guard was led by Amman, Captain of Chasseurs, a Tyrolese, for whom the countrymen had the greatest affection, and whose military talents fully entitled him to the command with which he was entrusted; he led them on that day with uncommon gallantry, and fell covered with glorious wounds. Reissenfels broke up his posi-

tion on the heights of St. Peter, and advanced over Patsch with four columns, to attack the bridges of Volders and Halle. He was accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Leis, of Hohenlohe Bartenstein, and Joseph Speckbacher, who particularly distinguished himself, and who had been throughout a most strenuous supporter of the cause. He was a tall athletic man, with black eyes and hair, stooped considerably, and had generally an expression of dejection and melancholy in his countenance; but when the war in which he was engaged, or any thing relating to his native country (to which he was devotedly attached) was mentioned, his features brightened up with an appearance of animation and pleasure, and he raised his head as if proud of the part he was acting. From his youth he had been famed for the dexterity with which he used his rifle, and esteemed for his courage and intrepidity, of which many remarkable anecdotes are told.*

* Joseph Speckbacher was born at Gnadenwald, a village in the neighbourhood of Halle, on the 14th of August, 1768. His father was superintendant of the salt works at Halle, and his grandfather had distinguished himself formerly against the Bavarians. "Often," says Speckbacher, speaking of himself, "has my imagination been fired by the recital of his deeds, and my young heart beat to follow his example." His father died

Speckbacher with his column, consisting of 600 men, attacked the enemy at the bridge of Halle, drove them back, and destroyed it. The farm of Rainerhof was three times attacked by

at the age of 76, leaving eight children, of whom Joseph (then six years old) was the third. A few years afterwards he lost his mother, and was sent to school, where, in spite of the attention that was paid to him during a considerable time which he spent there, he could not be taught either to read or write. He was naturally of a wild disposition, and the discipline of his school had not the effect of taming him; he acknowledges himself, that his conduct was a constant source of uneasiness to his parents and relations.

At the age of twelve, having formed an intimacy with a few companions as wild as himself, he took to a roving unsettled mode of life, wandering through the forests of Bavaria, and committing all sorts of depredation. During their excursions, however, one of his associates, named Staudacher, was killed before his eyes by a Bavarian chasseur, which appears to have brought him to his senses, for from that moment he quitted the lawless life he had hitherto been leading, for one of respectability, and was afterwards appointed overseer of the salt mines at Halle.

In his 27th year he married Maria Schmeider, of Rinn, a woman of some little property, whose first care was to persuade her husband to make up for his former neglect by learning to read and write, an accomplishment which he found of the greatest use to him afterwards, as he held in consequence several places of trust and responsibility in his district, and during the war of 1809, in which he was a principal actor, it was absolutely indispensable. Speckbacher was decidedly Hofer's superior in military talents, but did not rank so high in public

the Bavarians, who were each time driven back with considerable loss. During the conflict at the farm, a young woman, who resided at the house, brought out a small cask of wine to encourage and refresh the peasants, and had advanced to the scene of action regardless of the tremendous fire of the Bavarians, with the cask upon her head, when a bullet struck it and compelled her to let it go. Undaunted by this accident, she hastened to repair the mischief, by placing her thumb to the orifice caused by the ball, and encouraged those nearest to her to refresh themselves quickly, that she might not remain in her dangerous situation and suffer for her generosity.

The second column, under Reissenfels, Lieutenant Colonel Schulterer, and Captain Gasteiger, consisting of 500 Tyrolese, one division of Devaux, commanded by Captain Herman and Baron Welling, and a few Hohenzollern light horse, advanced towards the Castle of Ambras, and the bridge over the Sill.

The third column, formed of 800 Tyrolese,

estimation. The kind of authority, however, which he possessed over his followers much resembled that of his friend, and the victories gained by the peasantry (whenever he was present) were certainly in a great measure owing to his ardour and intrepidity.

under Captain Wolfgang Natterer, extended itself over Rinn and Judenstein, and joined Speckbacher's division. The fourth, of 1200 Tyrolese, under Colonel Stuffer, and one division of Devaux, under Captains Dobrawa and Immor, remained in reserve at Lans. The Castle of Ambras was soon taken, but the Bavarians resolutely defended the bridge of the Sill, and drove the Tyrolese back to Passberg, upon which Captain Dobrawa advanced and stormed the bridge with redoubled ardour, and with the assistance of Colonel Ertel drove them to the village of Wiltau. Ertel had advanced on the heights of Mount Isel with the reserve (2,000 men) of Meraner and Algunder, and a company of chasseurs, vigorously assailed the heights of Mutters and Natters, and drove the enemy away from their guns into the plain. The Capuchin, Joachim Haspinger, took a leading part in this attack, and was seen every where performing extraordinary acts of courage and bravery, and doing great execution with his wooden crucifix. Once, however, his career had nearly been stopped, for a Bavarian soldier was about to run his bayonet through his body, when fortunately for him he was shot dead by a Tyrolese sharpshooter.

Hofer advanced with the main body down the great road from Mount Isel towards the

town, by the abbey Miltau, in the midst of the enemy's posts. The Bavarian outposts were immediately carried, but the enemy returned to the charge with the greatest resolution, and in spite of the redoubled efforts of the Tyrolese, maintained their ground to the last man.

It was one o'clock in the afternoon, when Teimer suddenly appeared on the heights of Hotting behind the town and in the rear of the enemy. The number of his followers was small, but a party of Tyrolese in Innspruck had agreed to send two companies and a six pounder to meet him; this reinforcement, however, found great difficulty in joining him, and even when they had effected their purpose were of little service to him.—It is probable that had Teimer appeared at an earlier hour he would have been able to unite his forces with the Tyrolese already engaged, and had he done so, the consequences of the battle might in the end have been much more beneficial to them; but the delay was not owing to any want of activity on his part; several unlooked for accidents had befallen him, which unfortunately prevented his arriving sooner.

The Bavarians, upon Teimer's appearance, collected their force and advanced in a strong body, with great resolution, towards Mount Isel;

Colonel Ertel's troops, who had been partially dispersed, were collected in haste, and the Austrians as well as Tyrolese drew themselves up in a line prepared to meet the threatened attack of the enemy. The conflict immediately became general, and for some time was maintained with great courage on both sides; the Bavarians, by their discipline, had great advantages and stood their ground admirably; but the Tyrolese sharpshooters who were dispersed amongst the rocks committed such havoc in the ranks that they several times gave way, but returned almost immediately to their former position.—Every moment the Tyrolese found their ammunition decrease, and were obliged to slacken their fire for fear of expending it all before a reinforcement could arrive.—In this emergency it was at length found necessary to send an officer with a trumpet to endeavour either to persuade the enemy to lay down their arms, or, at least, to desist from firing for a short time.—He was, however, not to appear as if it was an object of importance to the Tyrolese, but to describe, in the strongest manner, to the Bavarians their dangerous and critical situation. —His arguments had the desired effect—after being introduced twice to Deroy, he was told that they could not give him a decided answer,

but they begged for a cessation of arms during twenty-four hours, that they might, in the mean time, come to a final resolution—after which they immediately retreated.

During this interval, Colonel Ertel had carried one of the enemy's outposts, by stratagem, and forced the piquets to retire to the suburbs, when the long wished for ammunition arrived over the Brenner.

It was, however, at this time, too late to think of recommencing hostilities; but had they done so, it was most probable that the Tyrolese would have had the advantage: even had they renewed the fight on the following day, the result would have been the same, for Teimer's force hourly increased in the rear of the enemy, while the bridges were destroyed in all directions, which made them eager to hasten their retreat.

The Tyrolese performed wonders on this memorable day, and undaunted by the vigorous and repeated attacks of the well disciplined army of the Bavarians, stood their ground firmly, and whenever an opportunity offered itself, rushed headlong upon the enemy, shouting their patriotic war cry "for God, the Emperor, and our native country," and carried all before them. —It is said that the wounded would not permit themselves to be attended to, because it would

necessarily have employed a number of men to carry them off the field, and they were aware how small their force was, and how ill such assistance could be spared.

Amongst the distinguished persons who lost their lives in this action, Count Johann of Stackelberg was particularly regretted.—He was the last count of that illustrious family, and died leaving an affectionate wife and three lovely daughters to deplore his loss.—He was an intimate friend of Hormayr, and had joined the insurgents principally on account of his affection for him, but had been a zealous supporter of the cause although he had constantly refused the command. He died gallantly storming the farm of Sarenthein, covered with wounds. The Tyrolese had also to regret the loss of the brave Captain Amman of the Chasseurs, who fell amongst the last that were killed; his gallant conduct on that day will make his name long remembered in the Tyrol. The whole loss of the Tyrolese amounted to sixty-two killed and 97 wounded.—That of the Austrians twenty-five killed and fifty-nine wounded. While the Bavarians lost, on the 25th and 29th, 2500 killed and wounded, 569 prisoners and missing, several baggage and ammunition waggons, and a considerable number of officers.

Hofer, although regardless of danger, and certainly as courageous as any man in the army, took but little part in the active operations of the 29th; he gave several unconnected orders to Eisenstecken, but remained himself in the public house till late in the day, regardless of the representations of his friends, and of the tumult with which he was surrounded.—It is to be regretted that a man who had already proved his courage, who was at that moment adored by his followers, and whose name is to this day revered throughout his native country, should have been so deficient in energy as to remain a tame spectator of an action in which he might have played so great a part, and which will ever be remembered with pride and satisfaction in the history of the Tyrol.—A solemn feast was instituted soon after the battle, to commemorate a victory which had liberated the Tyrol once more from the Bavarian yoke.

The battle of the 29th May certainly formed one of the principal events of the war of 1809, not only from the extraordinary gallantry displayed by the combatants, but because the communication between Germany and Italy was completely closed, so that the principal part of the Bavarian and Wurtemberg force was obliged to remain, for above a month after the final signature of the Znaimer treaty in the

mountains of Salzburg, without being able to advance a step.—Such an advantage, had a proper use been made of it, might have been of essential service, not only to the Tyrol but to Austria itself.—Unfortunately, however, Austria had been intimidated by the success of the French, and had gone too far to recede; so that while the Tyrolese gained everlasting honour by their conduct, they only brought upon themselves the redoubled wrath of Buonaparte, who, after he had conquered Austria was indignant at their continued resistance.

As soon as it was dusk the Bavarians collected their whole force behind the town of Innspruck, with the greatest secrecy possible, and after taking the precaution of wrapping the horses feet and wheels of the canons in hay, to prevent their making a noise, they began their march a short time before midnight in the most profound silence over the Mühlauer bridge to Halle and Baumkirchen, and retreated without opposition below the ruins of Schwarz.—Major Loy had been ordered by Teimer to hasten with the landsturm of the neighbourhood to the narrow and woody defile of Mariastein to intercept them if possible.*

* *The Bavarian Account of the Battle of the 29th of May.*

'In the mean time the number of the Insurgents was increased, and on the 29th, at nine in the morning, they fell

At four o'clock the next morning Ertel entered Innspruck followed by crowds of peasants

upon the corps at Innspruck, with a much larger force. The fight was severe and obstinate,—it lasted the whole day, in that part which borders upon the mountains with nearly equal success on both sides; at last, about seven in the evening, the Insurgents were driven back on all sides; but they continued in the vicinity, upon the mountains, where they could not be followed.

'While this was going on, the inhabitants of the Upper Valley of the Inn, who had hitherto remained quiet and faithful to their repeated pledges, ran to arms: while those of Vintschgau, and of the environs of Schwarz and Rattenberg, also rose in insurrection, together with the whole Lower Valley of the Inn.—By this means was intercepted all communication of our troops with Bavaria, and provisions cut off on all sides.

'Supplies could not be obtained from those places which were occupied. The inhabitants of Innspruck, who, from their good conduct, did not deserve starvation, were in want of articles of the first necessity. The division had consumed the greater part of their provisions, and there were no means of obtaining more. These circumstances induced the General to order a retreat, which threatened every hour to become more difficult, by the Insurgents breaking down the bridges. The Austrian Commander thought fit to send an officer with a trumpeter to Lieutenant General Deroi, inviting him to surrender with his corps. This message received the answer it deserved.

'The bridges over the Inn at Halle, Volders, Schwarz, and Rattenberg, could not be speedily repaired; the inhabitants, who had been summoned to work at them, fired at the trumpeters and officers who were sent to them; the First Lieutenant, Von Gunther, was killed at Rattenberg, when deli-

who flocked in indiscriminately and filled the town, and at nine o'clock Hofer marched in at

vering his commission.—On that account the division could not effect its retreat by the high road; they found it necessary to follow the left banks of the Inn, through woods and impracticable mountains, while the rebels, who had fortified themselves there, fired upon our troops. In spite of these obstacles, the division, by their courage and prudence, in two marches fortunately reached Kufstein, and took up a position at Rosenheim, without losing their artillery, stores, or equipage, and without suffering any considerable loss of men.

'The following is a copy of the Summons to surrender; sent to our troops during their march.

'"To the Bavarian Commander in Innspruck.

'"I am here with fifty thousand riflemen and soldiers, out of all Vintschgau and the Pusterthal. My comrade is at Berg Isel and its vicinity, with a force as considerable. I yesterday destroyed the corps of Count Von Arco at Scharnitz; scarcely did a few escape to carry the fatal tidings.—All the defiles of the Tyrol are occupied, there is no opportunity of escape. I therefore invite the Bavarian troops to an honourable capitulation, of which the security of their persons and the most brotherly treatment shall form the foundation. But if the moment of clemency is allowed to pass by, blood may yet needlessly flow. If I do not receive a satisfactory reply in half an hour, the work of slaughter shall begin again; and I swear that no quarter shall be given even to the last Bavarian soldier.

(Signed) TEIMER,

Austrian Major and Commandant of the Tyrolese.

'"*Head Quarters of Krauef,*

written May 30.

'"P. S. This moment a courier has reached me from Schon-

the head of the men of the Passeyr Valley, with Joachim Haspinger and Peter.—During the same evening Hormayr came in sick and fatigued from his great exertions. Teimer pursued the flying enemy as far as Kufstein, and Speckbacher to Wörgl, but with little success for they had advanced so rapidly, as to make pursuit useless.

Immediately after the victory of the 29th of May, many of the peasants who had retired from the field in discontent rejoined the army, while several hundreds who had been made prisoners of war escaped and enrolled themselves again under the standard of their country.—Such an

berg, in Carinthia, who brings me information that the French army at Vienna was annihilated on the 22d, 23d, and 24th; that the Russians and Prussians have joined us, that the Archduke Ferdinand is already in Swabia, and must be in possession of Nuremberg, Augsburgh, Munich and Ulm.—It is certain that nine Austrian battalions have entered Bregenz, and that 20,000 inhabitants of the Vorarlberg are on their March.—Send an answer in half an hour or I will give the signal for a general attack."

'This summons is quite sufficient to make known this Major Teimer, and to show how far these leaders of the insurgents carry their impudence to mislead an ignorant people by their unfounded reports, flattering themselves in their blindness that they may practise the same tricks upon the Bavarian troops.'

increase of force, while it must have appeared most formidable to the Bavarians, and have encouraged those who were doubtful of the ultimate success of the Tyrolese arms, was a source of great perplexity to Hormayr and the rest of the chiefs, for although the aid of so much additional strength gave them satisfaction, they had neither the means of arming or clothing the new comers, without which, their assistance would have been comparatively useless.

In this dilemma Hormayr resorted to the usual expedient, and issued the following proclamation.

" The happy events which have taken place have set at liberty the greatest part of the prisoners, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy.—These brave men, who have suffered so severely in the unprecedented and obstinate combat for the honour of the Austrians, have found a safe asylum in the Tyrol.

" It is of the greatest importance to us to augment our force, which has been so much weakened in consequence of the retreat of F. M. Marquis Chastelar, while that of the Bavarians continues to increase; their discipline and experience also give them great advantages over us.

" The whole stock of our military stores and

clothing is exhausted, and without these necessary articles we shall be unable to attain our object.

They, therefore, who wish well to their country, must lend their assistance, at least for the moment, until a communication with the main army is rendered practicable, and an intercourse with the interior of Austria is again restored—an event which is of the greatest consequence to the welfare of the Tyrol, and which, after the memorable victories of the illustrious Archduke, cannot be far distant.

"On this account every body, every true Tyrolean whose heart beats for the welfare and liberty of his country, is called upon in the most earnest manner, to send without delay all such arms, rifles, muskets, swords, cavalry saddles, &c. as they can spare, either to the appointed deputation or to head quarters, for which they shall, in proper time, be repaid.

"The deputies and commandants are ordered to deliver all such stores as they receive with as much haste as possible, at Brixen, which being situated in the centre of the country, will serve as the magazine and rendezvous of all military stores, and from whence it will be easy to send in all directions such assistance as may be required.

"Without clothing, the troops will be as unable to carry on the war as they would be without arms.—These articles and implements of war are indispensable. Whoever, therefore, lends his assistance to alleviate our wants will render the most important service to his country, &c. &c."

This proclamation had the desired effect. The recent victory had roused a fresh spirit throughout the country, and every one exerted himself to contribute to the assistance of those who had already done so much, and who, they thought, with their aid, would gloriously attain the object they had so long and so nobly pursued.

Count Triangi enabled them to arm a considerable number of men by taking possession of a large stand of arms belonging to the enemy at Ferlach, near Clagenfurt.

Hormayr in a short time received also several pieces of cannon, which were of the greatest importance, because being of a small size, he could place them in situations, and draw them through passes, which would have been impracticable to guns of greater weight.

In spite of the contributions, however, which were levied throughout the country, the store of ammunition received by the end of May, was not nearly sufficient for the use of the Tyrolese, who

instead of husbanding the small quantity they possessed, took advantage of every wedding or festival that occurred, to fire feux-de-joie, and thus a considerable quantity of powder, which might have been of the greatest consequence to them afterwards was thoughtlessly wasted.

The Tyrol had few resources in itself. Its own powder mills could make little at a time, and surrounded as the frontiers now were by enemies, it was exceedingly difficult to import powder if it could have been procured from other countries*; but the want of money was in fact an insurmountable obstacle to any attempt of that sort. Austria was the only place to which they could look for succour, and Austria herself had so many expenses to meet at this moment that she had not the means of giving them much assistance; but to Austria the Tyrolese had always been accustomed to look for support, and now that they were struggling in her cause, they depended entirely upon her in all their difficulties.†

* 275 cwt. of powder, which had been sent from Switzerland, was seized by Talleyrand, the French Minister to the Helvetic Confederation at Coire, in the Grisons, and was in consequence lost to the Tyrolese.

† The distress of the Tyrolese was much increased by the depredations which the Bavarians had committed upon their

The Archduke John had indeed repeatedly declared his great affection for the Tyrol, and his determination of defending it to the last extremity, acknowledging at the same time its consequence to Austria, and his gratitude for the attachment so repeatedly and so universally expressed to him by the Tyrolese. It was natural, therefore, that they should look to him for support, and Hormayr encouraged the belief that they would ere long receive it, although it is probable that at that very moment, he saw himself how little possibility there was of their hopes being realized. Chastelar, however, exerted himself with great earnestness to procure money from his court for the relief of their distress; but his exertions (although very liberal promises were made to him) never had the desired effect. The loss of Vienna, the consequent interruption of all communications, and the danger with which Austria was threatened, were urged as insurmountable obstacles to the fulfilment of their promises.*

convents. At any other time, the patriots would have found able and willing assistants in the opulent members of those ancient establishments, but now they were themselves so impoverished, that they were compelled to apply for support to their own exhausted government.

* It was however suspected by many of the Tyrolese, that

In spite of the difficulties he had to contend with, Hormayr never relaxed for a moment from his exertions; but he found those difficulties increase daily, for as long as the people remained in a state of inactivity it was impossible to keep them in order. Unaccustomed as they were to any sort of military discipline, they could not be taught that the success of the cause depended as much upon their general conduct as upon their bravery in the moment of battle.

Many hundreds who had left their homes to join the army now wandered idly about, committing every sort of wanton excess, and, as will always happen in times of tumult, when the settled course of law must necessarily be in some degree impeded, even the more orderly part of the people imitated the example of the dissolute, and the inhabitants of some of the towns refused to pay the taxes and imposts. Hormayr therefore had not only to contend with an enemy superior to him both in numbers and experience, but with an insubordinate set of men on whom

Chastelar and Hormayr had received considerable sums of money from the Austrian court, and had appropriated them to their own use. The whole conduct of these two men, and the noble disinterested manner in which they behaved throughout, is (I think) sufficient proof that these suspicions were equally unjust and improbable.

he could not depend and over whom he had but little power.

This disorderly state of things was increased by the vile intrigues of Malanotti, Kolb, Mayer, and others of the same description, who were jealous of Hormayr and Hofer, and encouraged the people to rid themselves of every sort of restraint. The constitution established by the Bavarians still partially existed in the country, for although the Bavarian authorities were driven away, the same method was used to levy money as formerly, and the same system of government was pursued as that which had been originally introduced by them. This was a source of continual irritation to the people, who declared that they would submit to nothing Bavarian, and as their wants increased, instead of listening to the representations of Hormayr, they lived upon the plunder they could extort from their own countrymen; so that every day their situation became more desperate and the difficulty of relieving it greater.

In the beginning of June a quantity of silver was coined at Halle, which produced 3000 florins; and every means were employed to borrow money from the neighbouring countries, in order to meet the increased expenses of the army; but the bad success of the Austrian arms

created an unwillingness to lend, for it was natural to suppose that the Bavarians, on repossessing the Tyrol, would refuse to repay a loan which had been raised to enable the Tyrolese to carry on war against themselves. Hormayr was therefore at length compelled to mortgage his own possessions in the Tyrol, in order to raise a sum, which, from its trifling amount, could only afford temporary alleviation to the distress which was daily increasing.

Hofer in the mean time was applied to by Hormayr in all emergencies; the cool determination with which he acted on all occasions, his zeal for the cause, and, above all, the sort of idolatry with which he was looked up to by the Tyrolese, gave him more weight than any of the other chiefs, and Hormayr was well aware how serviceable his aid would be in all moments of mutiny or discontent. At the beginning of the war he commanded the whole armed force of his native valley, and after the battle of Innspruck he was made Commander-in-Chief of the whole of the South of the Tyrol. He had by his zeal and undeviating adherence to the cause fully justified the expectations of Hormayr, who, when he selected him from amongst his countrymen, was aware of the contracted ideas, and limited knowledge he possessed, but felt con-

fident that, from his extraordinary character, he would become popular, and render him, perhaps, more real service than a man of brilliant talents or more enlightened mind.

According to the Bavarian accounts, the Tyrolese force in June did not exceed 10,000 men, and of those some were men advanced in years, and many boys scarcely fit to carry arms; but it is probable that after the battle of Berg Isel their force was larger, as far as can be conjectured from the accounts of the numbers that joined the insurgent army; the great difficulty was not only to arm, but to organize this additional strength, for to some who were accustomed only to the labours of the field, the use of a musket was unknown, and to those who had passed their lives as Chamois hunters, wandering wherever their inclinations might lead them, the restraint of military discipline was indescribably irksome. In the heat of battle both were equally courageous, equally inveterate against their enemies, and anxious to surpass each other in deeds of gallantry; but it could not be expected that the wild and uncontrouled bravery of a few ill-armed Chamois hunters would long withstand the superior force and discipline of the Bavarian army.

Destitute as he was of means, Hormayr could

not hope to bribe them by an increase of pay or additional allowance of food; neither threats nor entreaties had any effect upon them, except when the enemy were in sight, and then it was equally difficult to restrain their impetuosity. Hofer was of considerable service on this occasion; for although he, in common with the rest of his countrymen, disliked restraint, he was obliged to obey Hormayr as his superior, and willing to serve him as his friend, and his influence with the peasants persuaded them in many instances to attend to their duties.

Every exertion still continued to be used to find money and provisions; Bavaria, from whom the Tyrolese had been accustomed to look for support in a time of scarcity, was closed to them, so that as their only resource they compelled all the citizens who refused, or were unable to carry arms, to contribute a share of provisions or money to the support of the army, and those who were too poor to commute their services for such a payment were obliged to join the insurgents.

In this desperate situation of the Tyrol, surrounded almost on every side by enemies, distressed for provisions and money, and agitated internally by the discontent and disaffection of

those who ought to have defended it, there seemed little prospect of carrying on the war with success. But notwithstanding these difficulties the cause was not abandoned.

At this moment Uzschneider, Bavarian director of the salt mines, first appeared, and by his uncommon activity, and talent for writing those wild proclamations which were so attractive to the Tyrolese peasants, he added much to the perplexities in which Hormayr and the other patriot chiefs were involved. The letters which he distributed round the country had an astonishing effect in encreasing and encouraging the discontent of the peasants. Some of these, in which he complained unjustly of the excesses committed by the Tyrolese, in the neighbourhood of Kufstein, and of the general barbarity with which, as he affirmed, they had treated the Bavarian prisoners, were addressed personally to Hormayr, who returned the following answer:

"Sir,

"I have received your two letters of the 22d of June and 3d of July, by means of my advanced guard, as well as those which you gave yourself the trouble to write to several intrepid patriots.

" I have no other answer to make than that I am equally devoted to the welfare of the Imperial House of Austria as you are to the King and Princes of Bavaria.

" What you say of the excesses committed in the district of Kufstein afflicts me. But to that I can only answer that I have made it my most sacred duty to prevent such excesses as far as has been in my power.

" The inhuman brutality with which the Bavarian soldiers have treated not only the armed, but the defenceless old men, women, and children, as well as the sick and wounded in the hospital at Schwaz, does not, I allow, entitle the Tyrolese to follow their example.

" I have fortunately prevented all such conduct where I have been personally present; and be assured that I will punish it severely wherever it has happened in my absence. My intercession on the 14th of April saved more than one Bavarian bailiff from death, and their families from insult. Receive at present my word of honour for the kind treatment of the eleven hundred prisoners of war now with us in Etschland.

" A man of your understanding must laugh at so absurd an invention, as that the Tyrolese have murdered a single Bavarian or French pri-

soner of war. Upon the subject of the violation of martial law, we have both a word to say.

" I should do wrong, however, to attribute to my own endeavours the good conduct of my nation on this subject. The Commandant-General, Baron Von Buol, who distinguished himself so much by his bravery at Kehl, Verona, Marengo, and Memmingen, would blush to serve in a country where such deeds were committed, would despise those vallies, where, from the 13th to the 29th of May, the Bavarians have experienced the force of our arms.

" I have therefore merely to acknowledge the receipt of your papers, and to return the same remonstrance on our part, with the assurance of the high consideration and esteem I have for you.

" Joseph Baron Hormayr,
&c. &c. &c."

A proclamation of Uzschneider's, which fell into the hands of Baron Taxis about this time, is very characteristic of his manner. The following is an extract:

" Inhabitants of the Tyrol!

" You know me as Director-General of the Salt Mines at Halle.

" I come to you now as a messenger of peace; when you wished for peace you rose up against the Bavarians—you involved your native country in war and sedition, because they made you believe that the Austrian troops would be able to protect you.

" The inexhaustible power of France, and the talents of Napoleon are irresistible, they have already detained the whole Austrian army during four weeks in Bohemia.

" The French are already in possession of Salzburg, Upper and Lower Austria, Vienna, Carinthia, Steyermach, and Hungary, as far as Ofen. The Russians and Poles are advancing to Gallicia.

" Austria can assist you no longer; the whole weight of the war will fall upon yourselves. Several times have hostile troops appeared in your vallies, who have treated you as rebels to your lawful king; had you remained faithful to him, you would not have seen these troops in the Tyrol.

" You still continue to rebel against Bavaria; your country is at war with France! What will become of you? Do you not see how the troops increase on all sides of you; what force from France and from the Rhine—from Italy! These

troops will act against you, if you do not immediately return to your duty and your legitimate king. Through your own misconduct you bring these troops into your vallies, and endless misery upon your own heads. Your prosperity is, then, annihilated by yourselves for many, many years.

"You calculate in vain that Austria will support you; what can Austria? What can a sinking power, who herself wants assistance, do for you?

"Tyroleans! consider your present situation, surrounded as you are by irritated enemies.

"His Majesty the King of Bavaria is your legitimate master; he wishes for your welfare, and his heart will bleed when he finds it necessary to force you into your duty.

"He promises—that all those who return to their duty shall be pardoned; that those whose property has been plundered shall be supported," &c. &c. &c.

Chastelar, during the battles of Innspruck and Hohenems, remained in the Drauthal, anxious to break into Carinthia and join the Archduke John, which he had been prevented from doing in the beginning of May, by the unnecessary delay of General Schmidt, who, if he had obeyed

the Archduke's orders, would have been able to open a free passage to the whole army.

The main body, consisting of the whole regiment of Johann Jellachich, two battalions of Hohenlohe Bartenstein, four small squadrons of Hohenzoller, the Carinthian Militia, a company of Chasseurs, and a large body of Tyrolese Volunteers who composed the advanced guard, advanced up the Drauthal. General Schmidt, who commanded the right wing, was to march in the direction of St. Hermagor, straight through the Gailthal, in order to cut off the communication between Tarvis and Villach. General Fenner, with the left, advanced from Spital over Treffen, in order to come in the rear of the enemy. Villach was the first point to be attacked. On the 4th of June a brisk skirmish took place near the bridge of the Drauthal. General Rusca retired to Clagenfurt, where he took up his position, and on the 5th June the whole of the Austrian force appeared before that place, and several shots were fired. Some prisoners were taken on the same day, among whom was Colonel Tascher, nephew of the Empress Josephine, and son of General Grenier; from papers in his possession it appeared that General Marmont was rapidly advancing from Dalmatia,

through Clagenfurt and Bruck, in order to join the main army at Vienna. It was, therefore, immediately decided to attack Clagenfurt, and the command of the enterprise was given to Baron Beyder. There were at the moment numbers of Austrian prisoners who bivouacked in the middle of the streets, and who would have joined the besiegers as soon as they had obtained an entrance into the town. In the dusk of the evening a breach in the wall of the dry ditch was discovered, which had been repaired with a single wall of bricks, through which a passage was soon made for the entrance of the troops. Every thing was in readiness, but the design was unfortunately prevented by the usual tardiness of General Schmidt, who was not yet come up, and who did not arrive till day break, when it would at all events have been too late to put their scheme in execution had not the enemy discovered their design. Early in the morning the enemy commenced a heavy cannonade from the town, and soon after made a sortie, in which, after a very severe contest, they lost a considerable number of men, but General Schmidt found it necessary to retreat again to the Pusterthal. Marmont was however so much alarmed at the unexpected appearance of Chastelar, that he retired hastily

over Loibel, and marched backwards and forwards during several days between Krayburg and Laibach, undetermined what plan to adopt. Chastelar proceeded in his march by Volkermarkt, Windischgratz, Hoheneck, and Gonovitz, and on the 9th of June joined the 9th division of the army under Count Ignaz Giulay Bannus, and Rochitsch, and a few days afterwards effected a junction with the little army of Archduke John.

In the beginning of July, Rusca quitted Clagenfurt, and advanced towards Vienna, to join the main army following the route of the Viceroy Beauharnois, Macdonald, and Marmont. On the 4th he halted at Knittefeld, and on the 5th, General Gavassini met him, and showed an inclination to attack him. On the 6th General Felner reached Leoben, and Colonel Salamon marched with two battalions to Vortzberg, leaving seventy horse in Weiskirchen. Felner, however, neglected to place piquets, and during the night Rusca appeared before Leoben, forced the bridge and gates, and took possession of the town. In the action Felner was killed, and the whole of his corps dispersed. In the mean time Gavassini remained at St. Ruprecht, while Rusca evacuated Leoben after

having levied a contribution, and retreated to Kraubat. Had Gavassini immediately advanced, it is probable that he might have retaken Leoben, made Rusca prisoner, and dispersed his troops, but by his want of decision the opportunity was lost.

Hormayr, who felt of what importance the possession of such a place as Clagenfurt would be to the Austrians, and, consequently to the Tyrolese, had formed a plan for the capture of it, which if he could have attempted it, would very probably have met with success; 2500 men were in readiness to march under General Schmidt, and 5000 Tyrolese volunteers had put themselves under the command of Hofer, eager for the adventure. Nothing was wanting but the co-operation of the 9th division of the main army, but they delayed the execution of the plan day after day until the cessation of arms had taken place, when it was too late; and the only advantage that Hormayr derived from the conception of a plan whose success might have proved so beneficial to the cause, was, that several of the discontented Tyrolese were for a time tranquillized by the prospect of active service.

On the 5th of June, Hormayr hastened with

Baron Taxis and the Engineer Baron Hauser to Brixlegg and Rattenberg, where they met the chiefs of the lower valley of the Inn, and with them formed plans for the organisation of a new force. Hofer followed them, accompanied by Eisenstecken, the two Capuchins, and deputies from several vallies in the Tyrol. At this time the Inn was so swollen that it was in many places dangerous to cross; and as the bridges were all destroyed, they were obliged to effect their passage by means of stilts and long poles, with which they balanced themselves. The country, which a few weeks before had been in a state of the highest cultivation, and the villages which were in the neatest order, now presented on every side a scene of ruin and desolation, too painful for the eyes of a native of the Tyrol—the promising crops destroyed, and the wretched inhabitants of the once peaceful villages were seen wandering over the country bewailing the loss of their homes and the ruin of their expected harvests.

The blockade of Kufstein meanwhile continued under the command of the Deputy Intendant Roschman, whose force was daily increased by his activity, and its discipline improved by his care and attention.

In the upper valley of the Inn nothing of any consequence occurred. Count Max Arco remained at Benedictbeuern with his corps, in order to keep open the communication through the Iserthal from Scharnitz to Munich, while Fuessen was blockaded by some small divisions of the *corps de reserve*, in order to preserve the pass of Reitti, and General Piccard was ordered forwards with the Wurtembergers by Hofen to the Vorarlberg.

The chiefs of the Veltlin insurgents had contributed from 200 to 300 regular troops, 1,200 peasants, and one six-pounder. This body was already in motion by Meran; Captain Muller, of the chasseurs, leading the regulars, and Major Frischman the Tyrolese.

The great deficiency of the Tyrolese was in cavalry; for although a force of that description was unnecessary in their own mountainous country, where their method of warfare gave them perhaps an advantage over more regular troops, it was impossible for them to gain any decisive success in the extensive and open plains of Bavaria and Swabia; but it was owing at the same time to this very deficiency, that the partial advantages which they gained in their occasional incursions into those countries raised their reputation higher in the opinion of their enemies, be-

cause they could only be attributed to their natural courage and intrepidity.

An enterprise of this description was proposed at the end of June, and the attempt was to be made from all parts of the country at once. The Vorarlbergers, who, on the 13th, had defeated the Wurtembergers at Hobranz, were to advance to Kempten, and on taking that place, to endeavour to form a junction with Teimer, who was to pass by Fuessen to Schongau; and Major Dietrich, advancing by Ettal, Murnau and Weilheim, was to assist the communication, while Baron Taxis was to force a passage by Kochell and Benedictbeuern, connect the line by Murnau, and extend himself to the right towards Tolz and Clagenfurt; Count Leiningen towards Trent and Verona.

In the Vorarlberg there were 20,000 men under arms prepared for this expedition, while the whole of the Tyrolese force did not amount to near that number.

Unfortunately for the result of the enterprise the enemy had by some means received intelligence of the intention, and were prepared every where for resistance. Teimer, by some mistake, advanced too much to the right instead of joining the Vorarlbergers, and from his ignorance of the geography of the country, exposed him-

self to considerable danger by falling in with the division of Count Max Arco. He narrowly escaped being made prisoner. By this unforeseen disaster the right flank of the Vorarlbergers was left exposed. They sustained a trifling loss of killed and wounded and two small pieces of cannon, for the division under Captain Juritsch came up too late to assist them, and their too great eagerness had led them to engage early in the day. Schneider, who commanded them, behaved with great intrepidity and coolness, and it is probably owing to his conduct that the loss was so trifling. Thus a plan, which had it succeeded, might have led eventually to the entire liberation of the Tyrol, was frustrated, partly by mismanagement, and partly by the superior force and activity of the enemy; no other alternative remained for them but to retire in good order after having possessed themselves of Kempten, Isny and Wangen, and taking with them from Constance six pieces of cannon and two ammunition waggons, some hundreds of prisoners, 360 sacks of corn and a large quantity of wine.

During these operations in the north, Count Leiningen was actively employed in the south. He had taken Bassano by storm, when a detachment was dispatched against him from Brescia, consisting of 1,400 foot and 140 horse, who ad-

vanced by Roveredo towards Matarello in hopes of being able to cut him off and retake Trent; but he was prepared for them, and drove them back to Roveredo in great disorder. On the 6th of June, a second detachment of 1,700 foot, 200 horse, and 6 guns, advanced to Trent, under Levier, chef de Brigade, who having made himself master of the suburb of Fersina, summoned the town to surrender, and upon Leiningen's refusal, proceeded to bombard it. A courier was immediately dispatched to Hormayr, who was still at Brixlegg, to inform him of their perilous situation, and to demand his assistance; upon which he hastened with Hofer to their relief; but another courier met them at Botzen, with intelligence that the enemy had retired.

On the 6th of June the whole of the force in the lower Tyrol advanced from Lavis in three columns; Schlager, of Hohenzollern, led the right wing; Captain Hubler, the main body, and Lieutenant Kukuli remained with the left wing in the mountains, in order to cut off the enemy on the road behind Fersina, and force them to retreat; while Captain Auerbeck, of the chasseurs, attacked them in the rear and completely defeated them. They retired in great disorder, having lost about 1,200 killed and wounded and 150 prisoners. This was the last

action of any consequence which took place in the south of the Tyrol. The enemy made several incursions as far as Valsugana, where they distinguished themselves by the most revolting acts of cruelty, but were in general repulsed by the peasantry without the assistance of any military force; and the few skirmishes of Leiningen in the mountains had no result of any consequence.

In the midst of these active operations in the Tyrol, intelligence was received of the decisive battle of Wagram, and the subsequent armistice between the French and Austrians, an event which was equally unexpected and disheartening to the Tyrolese. The news reached Hormayr at Innspruck on the 17th July, but in so doubtful a manner that he was not at first inclined to give credit to it; but the report had spread a panic amongst the Tyrolese, who saw themselves in consequence compelled either to submit again to the yoke of Bavaria, or to continue the contest against the conquerors of Austria without the possibility of being supported by those on whom they had till now depended. Many of the insurgents, as was usual in all cases of difficulty, gave up the cause as lost, and retired to their homes to await the event, while others more zealous or more desperate, seemed to have

redoubled their ardour, and expressed themselves determined to spill the last drop of their blood rather than submit to Bavaria.

General Buol meanwhile remained at Brixen in a state of the most perplexing uncertainty. He received orders from the Duke of Dantzig to evacuate the Tyrol, as hostilities had ceased, and a stipulation to this effect had been made in the armistice which was just concluded; but from his own government he had received no orders to that effect, nor indeed any official intimation of an armistice. He therefore refused to alter his present position. Hormayr, who had received a command from Anglés, Intendant at Salzburg, to surrender the Tyrol to Bavaria, and compel the Tyrolese to lay down their arms, returned for answer, that until he was commanded to do so by the Court of Austria, he would not yield a single foot of ground. Their doubts, however, were soon cleared up, and the unwelcome report of the fatal day of Wagram proved to be too well founded. The armistice was concluded at Znaim on the 12th of July, and it was agreed that the Austrian troops who were then in the Tyrol and Vorarlberg should immediately evacuate those countries; but the insurgents refused to acknowledge the agreement, and de-

clared that they would submit to nothing but the orders of the Emperor of Austria, who had affirmed that he would accede to no peace that did not ensure to him the possession of the Tyrol, and they would not permit the Austrian troops to leave the country.

One of the most violent amongst those who refused to accede to the armistice was a man named Kolb, who not only expressed his determination of using every means in his power to detain the Austrians, but proposed to General Buol that he should put to death all the prisoners then in his hands. He had taken up his quarters at Lienz, and intercepted all the dispatches indiscriminately, whether Austrian or French, took several officers prisoners, and declared every one who would not stand by him, a traitor to his country. Hormayr, who had foreseen that the indignation of the patriots would vent itself upon the unfortunate prisoners, used every exertion, as soon as he was convinced that an armistice had really taken place, to secure to them a safe retreat out of the country, and by his interference the greatest part of them escaped unhurt; some few, however, were unfortunate enough to fall victims to the ungovernable rage of the peasantry.

Eisenstecken, Martin Schenk, and Peter Mayer were Kolb's principal confederates, but their designs were neither of so sanguinary, nor so wild a nature as his; they were equally eager to detain the Austrian troops, but their first object was to seize the ammunition, and tempt the privates to desert to their cause, to disavow all the officers who opposed their intentions, and to send them with Hormayr and Buol out of the country. Lieningen they looked upon as a person who would probably join them, and to Hofer they looked as a chief who would lead them on, and probably enable them to effect the liberation of their country, without the assistance of the Austrians who had now deserted them.

Hofer himself shortly appeared amongst them, and declared that he was willing to accept the office of Commander-in-Chief if they wished to confer it on him, but if they preferred Lieningen he was prepared to draw his sword as simple commandant of the Passeyr Valley, but that in whatever situation it pleased God to place him he would sacrifice his life for the cause in which he was engaged, and that he was confident the Emperor of Austria would not desert them, but return as soon as he was able to their assistance. This declaration was received with shouts of approbation, and Hofer from that

moment became Commander-in-Chief of the Tyrolese*.

His first care was to organise a fresh force sufficient to defend his country, and in a short time hundreds of peasants flocked to his standard, partly from a sort of confidence that they had in his powers, and partly from the hope that the discipline of his army would be less strict than that which had hitherto been so irksome to them, so that he found himself at the head of a formidable body of men, all prepared to follow him and sacrifice their lives in his service.

At the same time hundreds of the Austrian troops deserted to him daily. They had begun their march with the intention of leaving the country, but were prevented by the Tyrolese, who persuaded them to remain and join their army. In Etschland, Colonel Taxis was deserted by nearly the whole of his corps, who, upon Hofer's appearance marched quietly out to meet him, and neither threats nor entreaties could recall them. The whole of the troops in the Vorarlberg declared unanimously that they would never abandon their brothers the Tyrolese, so that in a few days the whole country was once

* His vanity on this occasion carried him so far that he is said to have caused his initials to be stamped on a new coin.

more in a state of insurrection from one end to the other.

On the 9th of August all the Austrians who had not deserted to the insurgents had left the Tyrol; those who remained being about 600 men with several officers. General Schmidt delivered up the Fort of Sachsenburg to Rusca, according to the stipulation of the armistice.

No one felt more deeply the painful situation of the Tyrolese at this time than the Archduke John; he had always been particularly interested in their welfare, and the following extract from a letter, addressed by him to General Buol, shows clearly what were his feelings at that moment.

"I enclose you a copy of the armistice concluded by the army of Germany; you will see by the 4th Article that the Tyrol must be immediately evacuated, but it does not appear that this would be necessary supposing it to be occupied by French or Bavarian troops. This armistice has astonished me; but, alas! it is too true, and the enemy will doubtless press for the performance of the conditions. His Majesty, who is with me here, is particularly concerned that on account of this armistice the dear Tyrol which was occupied by us must be evacuated. He is concluding negociations in order to shorten

the misery of the present moment, and to establish stipulations from which he will not swerve. A few days will shew whether peace or renewed hostility will be the consequence. His Majesty will do all in his power for the Tyrol, and if possible will keep it for himself, or at least if he is compelled to resign it, will make such agreements as shall secure the Tyrolese from being punished for their fidelity and the sacrifices they have made to him; and in case of emergency, he offers an asylum to the chiefs who are inclined to settle in the Austrian dominions. This is all I can learn from the conversations which I have had with his Majesty; my own opinion of the actual state of the Tyrol is as follows: I foresee how difficult it will be to make the inhabitants, who have done so much, comprehend the necessity of our leaving the country; but we promise, in the event of peace, to take care of them, and of war to support and protect them. The first demands their submission, the second their assistance. In the first moment of anger they will either allow the troops to depart, and cursing those who have deserted them, listen to the propositions of the Bavarians, or they will refuse to permit the Austrians to leave the country. In either case we have a difficult game to play; our first object is to gain time. The armistice

was to continue for a month according to the 7th Article of the Treaty; nine days have already elapsed; so that the negociations which have already commenced will soon prove whether we are to expect peace or a renewal of hostilities. In the event of peace we shall soon know the fate of the Tyrol, but on the recommencement of war we should be obliged to recall our troops * * * * * * * * * * * *

"Meanwhile all that we can do is to endeavour to gain time and tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants as much as possible.

"General Buol will command the whole of the troops, and Baron Hormayr will remain either with him or General Schmidt according to circumstances; but it is advisable at all events that these two commanders should act together, that by being able to apply to each other for advice, they may do nothing rashly. You have both a difficult part to act, but silence is above all things necessary; your secret must remain impenetrable, that your intentions may not be discovered, or the consequences might be dreadful. The accounts you send me must be by the safest possible conveyances, that they may not run the danger of being intercepted."

"ARCHDUKE JOHN."

"*Head Quarters, St. Groth,*
21st July, 1809."

On the receipt of the above letter General Buol published the following proclamation, and immediately begun his march to the frontiers:

"TYROLEANS AND VORARLBERGERS!

"An Austrian courier has brought from the head quarters of his Imperial Highness the Archduke John, the confirmation of the intelligence that an armistice had been concluded on the 12th of this month, by the 4th Article of which the whole of the Austrian troops now in the Tyrol and Vorarlberg are compelled to evacuate those countries.

"The distresses of the army, and the unpleasant appearance of political events have induced his Majesty to take a step which has given him so much pain; the greatest care, however, will be taken of the Tyrolese. The Archduke John has given us the most positive assurance of it.

"With this promise, the Tyrolese are exhorted to submit peaceably, that the country may be spared the horrors which would infallibly be drawn upon it by their continued resistance.

"I am compelled, according to my orders, to leave the country, and consequently you can no longer depend upon me for support. Let me then entreat you to submit with patience to the will of Providence.

"I have recommended the Tyrolese to the

protection of Field Marshal the Duke of Dantzig, whose army is destined to act against the Tyrol.

"Your own conduct will have the greatest influence over him, and it depends upon yourselves either to promote the welfare or destruction of your country.

"With a heavy heart, and gratitude for your early assistance, I find myself compelled to make this communication to you.

"Baron Buol."

"*Brixen, 29th July,* 1809."

Hormayr, who had struggled so long for his country, who had in spite of the discontent of the people, and of the difficulties which were opposed to him, carried on the war with so much success for some time, felt most acutely the situation in which the Tyrolese were now placed. Still anxious to preserve them from the Bavarians, but dreading the consequences of continued opposition to their power, he scarcely knew how to act. His immediate object was to quell the increasing irritation of the peasantry; he used his utmost endeavours to persuade Hofer not only to abandon his project of carrying on so hopeless a war, but to accompany the Austrians in their departure from the country. With

Hofer, however, his persuasion had no effect. Speckbacher, Sieberer, Aschbacher, and Frischman resolved to follow him, but Speckbacher, in an interview with Hofer, in which he had intended to take leave of him, was persuaded to remain; and Hormayr, accompanied by a very few friends, left his country to maintain its struggle for liberty under the direction of Hofer.

Hofer, with all his courage, and with the numerous advantages which he possessed, was not equal to the command to which he had been called by the unanimous voice of his countrymen; it was rather under his influence than his direction that the war was carried on. His want of decision at the moment when he found himself deserted by the Austrians, was too evident a proof of his inability to direct so large a force, for from the 29th of July until the 2d of August, although every thing was in a state of preparation, and the peasants were in arms throughout the country, no active measures of hostility were undertaken, and Hofer remained concealed in the valley of Passeyr, without exerting himself to promote the success of his own projects.

Haspinger, the Capuchin, who had retired to his convent near Brixen, immediately after the victory at Berg Isel, on the 29th of May, and

to whom the people came for advice in the absence of Hofer, was equally irresolute how to act. He seemed to think that, without the aid of the Austrians, all the resistance that they could make against the overwhelming power of the enemy would prove fruitless, and although equally inveterate against the government of Bavaria with the rest of his countrymen, he hesitated to resume his station, and to take an active part in a cause which he now considered hopeless. His attachment to his country, and his desire to see it free, at length however prevailed, and on the 2d of August* he appeared at the Inn at Brixen. Haspinger here found three of the principal actors in the subsequent war (who had pledged themselves mutually to sacrifice their lives in the struggle for the liberty of their country rather than abandon so holy a cause), Martin Schenk, who was the friend and confident of Hofer and Eisenstecken, Peter Kemmater, and Peter Mayer†. With these

* From that day he always went by the name of *Rothbart* —Red Beard.

† The last of these men, who was particularly inveterate against the Bavarians, was tried by a court-martial, and shot at Botzen, in February, 1810, for having carried arms after the proclamation issued in the month of November preceding, by Eugene Beauharnois, at Villach. In his last moments, as the

men Haspinger concerted his plans of attack, and hostilities immediately commenced.

On the 4th of August Haspinger led a strong body of Tyrolese against the combined forces of the French and Saxons, who were in the Eisackthal, under the command of General Rouyer. The action lasted from an early hour in the morning until four in the afternoon; and from the havoc occasioned by the well directed aim of the Tyrolese sharpshooters, as well as the desperate resistance of the whole force, the enemy sustained considerable loss, according to their own account 1200 men, and 53 officers. Amongst these was the Saxon Colonel, Baron Hennings, who died of his wounds at Brixen, two days after the battle. One extraordinary method of destruction used by the Tyrolese on this occasion ought not to be omitted. They had, by the direction of Haspinger, felled several enormous larch trees, upon which they piled large masses of rock, and heaps of rubbish; the whole being supported by strong cords, by means of which they were suspended over the edge of a precipice. During the action the Tyrolese decoyed a body of the enemy's troops, by appearing to

soldiers were about to fire, he took a small crucifix which he always wore next his heart, and delivered it to a by-stander, "because," he said, "it might perhaps turn the bullets."

retreat, immediately under the spot, when in an instant the ropes were cut, and the whole structure came thundering down upon the heads of the unfortunate troops beneath. Few had time to escape; the principal part of them were instantly crushed to death; a death-like stillness succeeded to the tremendous noise of the falling avalanche, which was alone interrupted by the dreadful shrieks of those who were perishing in the ruins. For a moment the firing ceased on both sides, but was soon renewed with double vigour on the part of the enemy, who at length succeeded in forcing the Tyrolese to retreat to the Laditcher bridge, which was immediately blown up. The enemy had sustained too severe a loss to renew the combat, and both parties separated. Haspinger immediately retreated to Brixen to collect provisions and to reassemble those peasants who had returned there during the action.

As soon as the news of this affair had transpired, Hofer* quitted his place of concealment in the Valley of Passeyr, and on the 7th of August appeared at the head of several thou-

* Hofer was summoned by the Duke of Dantzig to appear at Innspruck before the 11th of August, to which he replied, that "he would come accompanied by 10,000 sharpshooters."

sand men on the Gaufen, where he joined Speckbacher, who had already taken up his position there. His appearance was soon known throughout the country, and his presence seemed to inspire the patriots with new courage, so that his army gained strength every day in numbers as well as in spirit and enthusiasm. The name of Hofer was sufficient to rouse those to activity who still hesitated, and the success which marked the commencement of this second war, confirmed the most sanguine in their hopes and expectations.

In the beginning of the month of August General Stengel made several ineffectual efforts to dislodge Speckbacher from the advantageous position which he had taken up at Tschofes, but he was repulsed in every attack, and was at length compelled to abandon his attempts in that quarter. The Tyrolese, however, on the great road to Brixen, were driven back and dispersed after a severe contest, by Count Wittgenstein, and the Duke of Dantzig upon receiving intelligence of his success, advanced over the Brenner, at the head of a strong body of chosen troops, with the intention of overwhelming the patriots and passing through the country with his whole army.—This, however, was a task beyond his powers.—He had not

advanced far, before the rear of his army was attacked with great fury by a body of peasants and completely routed, it was a tumultuary attack without order or regularity; but irresistible on that account. The peasants tore the dragoons from their horses, and killed them with the butt ends of their muskets.—Lefevre himself escaped with the greatest difficulty to the village of Mauls, having lost his hat and sword; here, however, he was not safe, a fresh force of peasants immediately attacked the remnant of his scattered army which had fled with him, and in a short time completed the victory so gloriously begun by their countrymen. The whole division was dispersed over the mountains, having deserted their guns, ammunition and baggage waggons, which were left in the hands of the conquerors. Lefevre after having collected a few of his followers retreated in haste to Innspruck, disguised as a common trooper, where he arrived on the 11th of August at four o'clock in the afternoon, and on the same night all the survivors of his discomfited army were reassembled in that city.

On the 8th of August, 1700 Bavarians under the command of Baron Bourscheidt, and the French Colonel Vasereau, advanced from Landeck towards Prutz, in hopes of being able to

pass through the Vintschgau and fall upon the rear of Hofer's troops at Sterzing.—They were met, however, at Prutz by a handful of Tyrolese sharpshooters, who, after having fired upon them with great success for a short time, retreated to the adjacent mountains, where, under the shelter of the rocks, they kept up a continual harassing fire upon the enemy.—These intrepid men were shortly joined by a large body of their countrymen, who, after a severe contest of several hours, compelled their opponents to retreat with considerable loss. The Bavarians in vain endeavoured to rally and enter the village of Prutz, they were repulsed in every attack, and after having kept up the fight until the troops were completely worn out with fatigue, and had lost great numbers, they found it necessary to retreat to Dullenfeld where they passed the night. At break of day the Tyrolese recommenced their fire, but the Bavarians were too distant from the mountains to be much annoyed by it, and they, therefore desisted as soon as they discovered that they were merely wasting their powder; a pause of some hours ensued, at the close of which, the Tyrolese, impatient at the immoveable manner in which the Bavarians retained their position, assembled their whole force amounting to about 300 men, armed with clubs, pikes and scythes,

and shouting as they advanced, precipitated themselves upon their enemies in the plain.

The Bavarians, on seeing their determination, displayed a white flag and called for quarter; upon this they were desired by the Tyrolese to lay down their arms, and to deliver themselves up as prisoners of war, together with their ammunition and horses.—To this they readily agreed, provided their lives were spared.—About 900 men and 200 horses fell into the hands of the Tyrolese, the rest having previously escaped, with the exception of about 250 who were killed.—The Tyrolese, during these two days, had only seven killed and four wounded.

Immediately after the evacuation of Sacksenburg, Rusca had advanced to Lienz. He chiefly distinguished himself by his atrocities. Every peasant who was found in arms was instantly shot; women and old men who were incapable of active warfare fell victims to his barbarity. The peasants, justly incensed at his conduct, soon determined to be revenged; and when he least expected it, they appeared in force at Lienzer Clause, headed by Anton Steger of the Pusterthal, Hibler, Adam Weber, and Baron Luxheim, a Swabian volunteer, who had been formerly in the English service.—Rusca defended himself but a short time against the

furious attacks of this army of irritated peasants, and having lost 1200 men he retreated in the utmost disorder to the fort of Sacksenburg, taking with him great numbers of sick and wounded.

Thus without the aid of the Austrians, the Tyrolese had been successful in almost every attack upon their enemies, and these successes did not fail to inspire them with the most confident hopes of being able to realize those plans which had been so ably formed for the liberation of their country. Hofer became every day more beloved—every victory was attributed to him; and when the army under his command defeated the enemy a second time in the auspicious neighbourhood of the Isel mountain, he was looked upon as a sort of deity, and Hofer's famous battle of the 12th of August is mentioned to this day in the Tyrol with a degree of exultation that it is not easy to describe.

On the memorable 12th of August the Duke of Dantzig had assembled the whole of his force, which consisted of about 25,000 men and forty pieces of cannon, on the plain before Innspruck.—Harassed as they had been throughout the country by the incessant attacks of the peasantry, and defeated in almost every attack, their courage had considerably diminished;—ac-

customed as they had hitherto been to victory, they were unwilling to face again an enemy who had given them such decided proofs of courage and firmness.—They no longer boasted of being able to "disperse the rebels," but seemed only anxious to ensure to themselves a safe retreat to Salzburg.—It is said that Lefevre himself was not particularly confident of success, although his army was so much superior in numbers, for he had learned by experience the character of those he had to oppose.

It is extraordinary, therefore, that at this moment, when the Tyrolese occupied so strong and so advantageous a position, when he knew that their force was considerable, and that his own troops had lost much of their usual spirit and scrupled not even to express every where their reluctance to fight, Lefevre should have hazarded a battle, the result of which he knew must be of the greatest importance to the Tyrolese if they were successful, and if he were so, would be of little comparative consequence to the Bavarians.

The Tyrolese were posted on the Isel mountain, the scene of the former great victory of the 29th of May.—Their force consisted of 18,000 men, 300 of whom were Austrians who had determined to share their fate when the Austrian forces were recalled.—They were tolerably sup-

plied with ammunition, but their provisions were nearly exhausted, and some hundreds of peasants in consequence of this want had already deserted to their homes.—Hofer commanded in person, and took up his quarters, as he had done in May, at the public house of the Spade, under the Schonberg.—Haspinger, the Capuchin, although so worn out by his indefatigable exertions as to have scarcely strength to walk, advanced by Natters and Mutters to the Husselhof. The right wing was commanded by Speckbacher, whose line extended from the heights of Passberg to the bridges of Halle and Volders; under him Count Joseph Mohr, at the head of the peasants of the Vintschgau, was particularly distinguished.

During the night previous to the battle, Haspinger roused Hofer from his sleep, and having first united with him in fervent prayer, he received his orders and hurried to the outposts to impart them to the several chiefs. At six o'clock in the morning the firing commenced. The plan of attack resembled much that of the 29th May; the object of the Bavarians appeared to be to dislodge the Tyrolese from their position on the heights of Mount Isel, while they, on the other hand, as they drove back their enemies, seemed intent upon making themselves masters of the bridges and approaches to the town.

The firing was tremendous, and continued for several hours with unabated fury. The bridge of the Sill was contested with great bravery on both sides, but at length the Bavarians gave way: the ground was strewed with the dead and dying, and on every side crowds of Bavarians were seen flying, routed by the charges of the Tyrolese. The victory was at length complete. The loss of the Bavarians must have been immense: 1,700 wounded fell into the hands of the conquerors. The loss of the Tyrolese amounted only to 50 killed and 132 wounded.*

The Bavarians retreated in haste over the Inn immediately after the battle, and began their march towards the frontier, committing, according to their usual custom, every sort of excess, laying waste the country in all directions, setting fire to villages, and plundering the inhabitants. On the 17th, the third division entered Kufstein, and by the 20th the whole army was in Salzburg. The Tyrolese pursued them to some distance, and Speckbacher had a skirmish with the rear guard at

* This is the Tyrolese account. The Bavarians estimate the loss of the Tyrolese at 1,000 men, and acknowlege their own to have been 5,000.

Schwaz, in which they lost a great number of men.

On the 15th of August, (Napoleon's birthday) Hofer made his triumphal entry into Innspruck, having delivered his country a third time from the Bavarians. His presence at this juncture was particularly necessary, for the people were beginning to plunder every thing they could seize; but as soon as he appeared, order was restored; the fear of his displeasure checked every disposition to plunder. He immediately gave directions that whatever had been taken either from the Bavarians or from the country people, should be delivered up within eight days; a search was made by his order in every house in Innspruck, and a heavy fine imposed upon all persons who were detected in an attempt to secrete any stolen property, however inconsiderable its value might be.

Hofer, upon entering Innspruck, took up his quarters at the Imperial Castle, where he continued to reside during his stay. His first care was to order a general thanksgiving for the late victory, which was observed throughout the country with the greatest solemnity. He assumed the title of Imperial Commandant of the Tyrol, and surrounded by his aid-de-camps and attendants, kept up a sort of court, which, when we consider his origin, his character, and his

manners, must appear in the highest degree ridiculous, but which was in some sort acknowledged by his countrymen, who obeyed his proclamations and edicts with the most scrupulous attention.

Hofer, however, had many difficulties to contend with. The inhabitants in the south of the Tyrol were discontented and riotous, and during the temporary absence of Morandell, who had been appointed commandant of that part of the country, had put themselves under the command of new leaders, who were not equal to such a command. Hofer therefore hastened to Botzen, aware that his presence there was material, and on the 4th of September issued the following proclamation:

"BEST BELOVED SOUTH TYROLEANS.

"It is with great displeasure that I have learnt your ill-treatment of my troops. I publish now, my dear brave countrymen and brothers in arms, this proclamation, that the well-thinking may know how to behave to those who are conducting themselves so ill. From my heart, which beats for you all, I detest robbery and depredation of every sort. I hate contributions and extortions, and be assured that I will not pardon these mean actions.

" It is the duty of every brave defender of his country to watch over the honour, and cultivate the affection of his neighbour, that he may not incur the displeasure of the Almighty who defends us so miraculously. Dear brothers in arms recollect youselves—against whom do we fight? against friends or foes? Against our enemies we have fought and conquered, and will still fight against them, but not against our brothers, who have been already so much oppressed. Consider that we ought to protect and assist our fellow creatures, who are unable to carry arms. What would the world, the witness of our conduct—what would our posterity say, were we not to fulfil these duties? The glory of the Tyrolese would be lost for ever!

" Dear countrymen. The whole world is astonished at our deeds. The name of the Tyrolese is already immortalised, and it is only necessary that we should fulfil our duty towards God and our neighbour to complete a work so gloriously begun.

" Brave countrymen and brothers in arms, supplicate the Creator of all things, who is alike able to defend or destroy kingdoms at his pleasure, and he will guide you. Who at this moment would wish to disturb our tranquillity? I summon all the clergy and those who are unable

to bear arms to assist and protect my troops, and such as are not able to render them any service to implore God on their knees to bless our endeavours.

" I further acquaint all public bodies, towns, villages, and my troops in general, that, as so many irregularities have happened in consequence of the conduct of commandants of their own choosing, during the absence of Joseph Morandell, whom I had appointed Commandant of the Southern Tyrol, no proclamations, orders, or arrangements are to be attended to, unless issued and signed by him.

" ANDREW HOFER,
" Commander in Chief of the
" Tyrol."

" *Botzen, 4th September*, 1809."

Hofer, however, although certainly unequal to direct the government at the head of which he was placed, did not remain inactive. His orders were given without much thought, but with a decision which was serviceable to the cause, at a moment when so much irregularity prevailed in the country, and they were always obeyed with the utmost promptitude and exactness. That which was probably of the greatest advantage to him, was his rigid ad-

herence to the form of government adopted by Austria. No step was taken by him but in the name of the Emperor, and the people were consequently more ready to obey orders that came, or at least appeared to come, from the Imperial Court. He levied taxes to enable him to carry on the war, issued a coinage of twenty kreutzer pieces, divided the landsturm into companies, and, as far as was in his power, carried the ancient system of government into effect.

Meanwhile the Vorarlberg, although still in arms for the Tyrolese cause, was of little service to them, on account of the incessant quarrels and discontent of its chiefs. Schneider, who had formerly led them, had been captured and dragged to prison by the enemy, so that the Vorarlbergers now looked to Hofer, not only for advice, but support; while he on his part, aware of the consequence of their assistance, used his utmost endeavours to appease and tranquillize them. But the views of Hofer and his associates were at this moment chiefly turned towards Salzburg and Carinthia. They had succeeded in driving their enemies from the Tyrol, and they continued their hostilities against them into the neighbouring countries with the greatest ardour. To the Salzburgers Hofer issued an animated proclamation, which induced num-

bers to take up arms. Speckbacher in the mean time defeated a strong body of Bavarians on the 16th and 17th, at Unken and Lofen, the loss of the enemy in killed and prisoners amounting to 1,700 men, many of whom perished in the river Saal.

Peter Thalguter, who shared the command with Speckbacher* on this occasion, saw a Bavarian officer of rank swimming for his life in the Saal, and precipitating himself into the stream, made him prisoner, while yet in the water. After this victory, Speckbacher advanced as far as Bertholdsgarn and the district of Reichenhall.

Harrasser a tanner, of Innspruck, took Werfen, which opened a communication between Salzburg and Villach; and on the 25th Haspinger drove the enemy from the pass of Lueg, advanced a few days afterwards to Hallein and threatened Salzburg; his success, however, made him careless, and his advance was so precipitate as to endanger his retreat.

During these operations, Hofer remained quietly at Innspruck, but the success of the Tyrolese arms under his government was a

* Breunig, Speckbacher's adjutant on this occasion, served afterwards during the war in the Peninsula, in the German Legion, and was raised to the rank of captain for his gallant and distinguished conduct.

source of great regret to those who had left the country with the Austrians; they had then abandoned the cause as hopeless, and were now lamenting their absence from scenes which reflected so much glory on their countrymen. Among the rest Eisenstecken and Sieberer, who had both distinguished themselves at the beginning of the war, felt acutely their separation from Hofer, and at length determined to return at all hazards and share his fate. Eisenstecken was the bearer of a gold chain and medal sent by the Emperor to Hofer, which he presented to him at Inspruck on the 28th of September, and was appointed by him to the command in the south of the Tyrol. Sieberer afterwards joined the Tyrolese troops at Kufstein and the Thiersee. Haspinger received also a cross of merit.

On the 4th of October, a grand festival was held at Innspruck in honour of Hofer, who was on that day formally invested with the medal, in the great church at the foot of the tomb of Maximilian, by the Abbot of Wiltau, amidst the acclamations of the people. The day was spent in rejoicing and revelry; but the Tyrolese were not to witness another day of such exultation.

Their successes unhappily were but a prelude to the tragical events which followed, and they who had been the objects of wonder and admira-

tion to the whole world for their gallant patriotism, were doomed to become again subservient to a power against whom they had struggled with such bravery and perseverance.

It was at this period that Müller and Schonecher were dispatched as deputies from the Tyrol to England to implore the assistance of the British government. In their present distress, it was perfectly natural that they should have recourse to a nation, in which suffering and sorrow of every kind are sure to find protection and relief.—The deputies were received, as might have been expected, by men of all ranks, with the greatest kindness and hospitality. The honours to which their steady patriotism, and their generous loyalty justly entitled them, were liberally bestowed upon them by a people who well knew how to appreciate the value of those rights and privileges for which they were contending. They were fighting for their constitution, and that was sufficient to ensure to them the good will and sympathy of Britons; but to give them more than this—to give them real and effectual assistance was impossible. A pecuniary supply, which was all that could have been expected, would have been of little use to them; and any other aid, the remoteness of their situation and the rapidity with which their re-

verses succeeded each other, made absolutely impracticable.

The fresh misfortunes of the Tyrolese began early in the month of October. General Peyri advanced into the south with 6,000 men, and directed his march towards Trent, having published a proclamation in which he summoned the Tyrolese to lay down their arms or dread the consequences.

He had received orders from Caffarelli, then minister of war, to make himself master of Trent, cost what it would, and his army directed its march towards that city. Peyri's advanced guard, under the command of Colonels Levier and Gavotti, pushed forward through Pilcante and Ala, and the van, under Percevault, Chef de Bataillon, kept the main road towards Ala. Luxheim met the advanced guard at Ampezzo, with a force of 1,200 men composed of Austrians and Tyrolese, and was repulsed with great loss. Roveredo fell into the hands of the enemy without much resistance; and Peyri, having been reinforced by the national guard of the Brenta and the 5th French regiment of the line, advanced to a strong position near Lavis. The Tyrolese here made some show of resistance, and an action took place which was kept up for several hours with great fury on both sides;

but the French, who were superior in numbers, could not be driven from their strong post, and the Tyrolese were obliged to retreat, having lost* 150 men killed and wounded, and about 40 prisoners. The French cavalry pursued them as far as Welschmichel, and took a few more men and one four-pounder.

In the middle of October, however, Eisenstecken drove the enemy back to Trent, and occupied again the position at Lavis, which he kept for some time.

The aspect of affairs in the north was at the same time equally disheartening. The Bavarians had advanced through Salzburg, and driven the Tyrolese back over their own frontiers. Speckbacher, who opposed them in the pass of Strub, was completely defeated with the loss of more than 300 men. Speckbacher was desperately wounded, and his son, a little boy of eleven years old, who had accompanied him to the field, was taken prisoner at his side. The Tyrolese, as soon as they saw that their leader was wounded, retreated in disorder to the heights of Melek, from whence they afterwards fell back to Innspruck, fighting as they retreated. Speckbacher was closely pursued by the enemy, and at Wal-

* The Tyrolese estimate the loss of the French on that day at 400 men.

drung, where he attempted to make a stand, nearly fell into their hands.

The misfortunes of the unhappy Tyrolese seemed to encrease daily, the tide of fortune had turned against them, and the overwhelming force of the combined armies of France and Bavaria, drove back and dispersed the hitherto victorious peasantry in every quarter. In the midst of these calamities, peace was finally concluded at Znaim between France and Austria, and the Tyrol was ceded to Bavaria for ever!—Thus did the House of Austria abandon to their fate a people, who, unaided and unsupported, had struggled against a superior force—who had sacrificed their lives and their property, to prove their attachment to that House, and their allegiance to its Sovereign. Buonaparte, however, engaged to procure a full and complete pardon for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, who had taken a part in the insurrection; and Eugene Beauharnois, now styling himself Eugene Napoleon, issued a proclamation from Villach, confirming to them the assurance of pardon, provided they would instantly lay down their arms and return to their obedience.

"Tyroleans! peace is concluded between his majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the

Rhine, my August Father and Sovereign, and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria.

" Peace therefore prevails every where except among you—you only do not enjoy its benefits.

" Listening to perfidious suggestions, you have taken up arms against your laws and have subverted them, and now you are gathering the bitter fruits of your rebellion: terror governs your cities; idleness and misery reign among you; discord is in the midst of you; and disorder every where prevails. His Majesty the Emperor and King, touched with your deplorable situation, and with the testimonies of repentance which several of you have conveyed to his throne, has expressly consented in the treaty of peace to pardon your errors and misconduct.

" I then bring you peace, since I bring you pardon; but I declare to you that pardon is only granted to you on the condition that you return to your obedience and duty, that you voluntarily lay down your arms, and that you offer no resistance to my troops.

" Charged with the command of the armies which surround you, I come to receive your submission or compel you to submit.

" The army will be preceded by commissioners appointed by me to hear your complaints, and

to do justice to the demands you may have to make; but know that these commissioners can only listen to you when you have laid down your arms.

"Tyroleans! If your complaints and demands are well founded, I hereby promise that justice shall be done you.

"EUGENE NAPOLEON."

"*Head Quarters at Villach,*
25th of October, 1809."

In consequence of these proclamations, and the unpropitious appearance of affairs in the Tyrol, several hundreds of peasants threw down their arms and submitted to their fate, and those who still continued to stand out against the enemy had lost their accustomed ardour and activity.—Even Hofer (who had abandoned Innspruck) for a moment offered to submit and deliver himself up to General Drouet; but this was a momentary resolution and he continued steadfast and firm in his determination to defend his country to the last extremity.—Amidst the defects of his character, one of the most fatal in the present crisis of the Tyrolese affairs, was his want of decision.—This was the bane of himself and of his country, and to its operation chiefly may be attributed the unfortunate conclusion

of his short but interesting career. A strange notion, which had taken possession of his mind, that it was decreed by Providence that the French should be victorious, and that nothing could withstand the arm of Buonaparte, had for awhile convinced him that there was no choice left him but submission—for this reason he offered to give himself up to General Drouet, and issued proclamations to the Tyrolese avowing his intention of abandoning a cause which he for the first time considered as lost; but it appears that notwithstanding this he still clung to a hope of future success, for he had scarcely resolved to submit to the French General, before he spurned the idea as base and cowardly, dispatched messengers in all directions to rouse the people, and as if by magic appeared again at the head of an army equally devoted to himself and their country.—His letters to Drouet, are the best proofs of his feelings on this occasion.

To General Drouet.

"A courier from the Archduke John, furnished with French passports, has just brought to the Tyrol the news officially confirmed, that peace has been finally concluded between the house of Austria and the Emperor of the French.

"Consoled by seeing the fate of our country

depend upon the generosity of the French Monarch, we have, in order to stop as soon as possible the unnecessary effusion of blood, sent deputies to the Viceroy of Italy, to express to him our respect, and to come to an understanding with him on the measures which circumstances require.

" Andrew Hofer,
" Commander in Chief of the Tyrol."

" *Schonberg, October* 29th, 1809."

To General Drouet.

" His Majesty the Viceroy of Italy having deigned to give the deputies of the Pusterthal the assurance, that if all the Tyrolese would lay down their arms they would be treated in the most indulgent manner, that all offences should be pardoned and forgotten, and no person should be persecuted, the undersigned has not hesitated to give to that assurance entire belief, and to order all the troops occupying the different posts to disband and return home.

" The undersigned most humbly begs your excellency to treat all the Tyrolese with indulgence and benevolence, and to draw a veil over the past.—In this case the undersigned assures your Excellency, that not the least injury shall be done to any of your soldiers.

" However, to avoid all disorder, it may be as well if the entrance of your troops were delayed for a few days, to give the Tyrolese time to return home.

" In once more recommending the people of the Tyrol to your Excellency's benevolence, the undersigned has the honour to be till death yours, &c.

" ANDREW HOFER."

"*Steinach, November* 4, 1809."

The Bavarians meanwhile had gained every day a stronger footing in the country, and repulsed the Tyrolese in every attempt they made to oppose their progress. The first division of the army had advanced from Loser, by the pass of Strub to Waidring and St. Johann, commanded by the Crown Prince. The second under Wrede, by Kessen, and the third under Deroy, by the great road from Kufstein. The advanced guard of the Tyrolese was driven back from Reiterwinkel, and on the 18th of October the whole of the Bavarian force was combined at Worgl; on the 24th they marched by Kundel to Halle, and after some little resistance from the Tyrolese, made themselves masters of the bridge of Volders. Hofer immediately evacuated Innspruck and drew up his force on the Isel

mountain the scene of his former victory; but the Bavarians did not appear inclined to attack them, and quietly taking possession of the city without firing a shot, proclaimed the peace which had been just concluded between France and Austria. The Tyrolese dispersed, and Hofer took up his head quarters at Steinach.

The partial dispersion of the Tyrolese in consequence of the pardon offered to them by Eugene Beauharnois, and the accustomed irresolution of Hofer, put a temporary stop to hostilities; but upon the new and final declaration of their chief, who declared that he would fight till the last moment, the Tyrolese were again in arms, and appeared in force on their favourite position on the Isel mountain. It was not fated, however, that they should again be conquerors on this spot. The Bavarians were much superior to them in strength, and after an engagement in which they did not display their usual gallantry, they were completely routed.

Hofer had for some time past been the friend and companion of a man named Donay, a cunning intriguing priest, of moderate talents but quick of apprehension, who perfectly understood the character of Hofer, and by his constant flattery had gained such an ascendancy over him, that he could lead him as he pleased.—His

friendship for Hofer had no object but his own purposes and interests.—Disliked for his haughtiness, and despised for his profligacy, he at length became the betrayer of that friend who had confided in him, and for the sake of a paltry reward delivered him who had been his greatest benefactor, into the hands of his enemies and murderers.—This man was dispatched in company with Sieberer, as deputy from the Tyrol to Beauharnois who was then at Villach, to negociate for the pardon and safety of those chiefs who had either instigated or taken part in the insurrection.—Beauharnois agreed to their request (as has been already seen), and on their return Hofer published the following proclamation to the Tyrolese.

" TYROLESE.—DEAR BROTHERS!—

" Peace between His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and the Emperor of Austria, was concluded on the 14th of last month.—We have been informed of this event in a manner which cannot leave us the least reason to doubt. The greatness of soul of Napoleon assures us of our pardon and of an oblivion for the past.—In consequence of this I have assembled as great a number as I have been able of the deputies of the different districts,

and with their consent I have sent to Villach M. Donay of Schlanders and Major Seiberer of Unterlangenkamf with a letter addressed to his Imperial Highness the Viceroy, and signed by all the deputies of the districts. The two commissioners have returned to day and have reported the answer of the Viceroy.

" Brethren !—we cannot maintain war against the invincible forces of Napoleon. Entirely abandoned by Austria, we are precipitating ourselves into an abyss of misfortune.—I can no longer command you, as I can no longer guarantee your security from the disasters to which you would be exposed.—A power of a superior order guides the steps of Napoleon.—It is the immutable decree of Divine Providence which decides victories and the condition of states.—It is no longer permitted to oppose this decree.—It would be madness to strive against the course of a torrent; let us now render ourselves by our resignation to the Divine will worthy of the protection of Heaven; and by our fraternal love, and the submission which is expected of us, worthy of the generosity and benevolence of Napoleon, &c. &c.

" Andrew Hofer."

" *Sterzing*, 8*th November*, 1809."

A proclamation which was published on the

15th, dated Passeyr, shows how much Hofer's feelings were changed in a few days.

"I felt inclined to lay down my arms, prevailed upon by men whom I considered as friends to my country, but who, as I now find, are its enemies and traitors; I therefore think it right to inform you, that, all the Passeyr Valley is again in open insurrection. All the inhabitants, both old and young, have taken up arms again, and the enemy was yesterday defeated with great loss; I therefore call on you, brethren, to rejoin us; were we to surrender to the enemy, we should soon see all the youths of the Tyrol dragged away from their homes, our churches and convents destroyed, divine worship abolished, and ourselves overwhelmed with eternal misery. Fight, therefore, in defence of your native country, I shall fight with you and for you, as a father for his children. I feel obliged thus briefly to communicate my sentiments to you, lest I fall a sacrifice for my own people; you would incur the same fate were you to remain indifferent spectators, and not take up arms again for your God and your native country."

The proclamations and entreaties of Beauharnois having no effect, and the peasants still continuing in arms, Rusca and Baraguay d'Hilliers were dispatched into the Pusterthal on the

3d of November. On the 4th they occupied Brunecken; here they were opposed in a gallant manner by the Tyrolese, who were however unable to make much opposition, and fell back fighting to Mulbach Clause. Rusca moved forward eagerly in pursuit, and at length, after meeting with the most determined resistance, succeeded in dispersing them, although his own loss was very considerable. Baraguay d'Hilliers advanced to Brixen. In the mean time the Bavarian troops marched from Innspruck. On the 10th of November, the position on the Brenner was occupied, and Major Hoppe was at Sterzing. General Peyri at the same time appeared on the heights of Fleims, and hastened to join his allies, having overcome every resistance that he met with in the mountains. Thus the small force of the Tyrolese which remained in arms was completely surrounded.

On the 14th, however, Rusca made an attempt to enter the valley of Passeyr, and met with less success than he had formerly done. Torggler and Peter Thalguter met him and drove him back from the old castle of Tirol, pushed forwards to Terlau and the heights of Jenesien, where the Bavarians were routed; Rusca himself was slightly wounded, and his loss amounted to 600 men killed and wounded and 1700 prisoners. Peter Thalguter was killed in this action

in the very act of taking an eagle from the enemy, and fell universally regretted by his countrymen.

Baraguay d'Hilliers rightly judged that he should be able to effect more by clemency than by force of arms; and for this reason dispatched a messenger to Passeyr, to invite Hofer and his friend Holznecht to Meran, promising them at the same time every indulgence, and full pardon, provided they would put an end to hostilities. Hofer for a long time hesitated what course to pursue. Baraguay d'Hilliers, as well as Beauharnois, was urgent in his entreaties, and would have done any thing in his power to have secured to him a safe retreat, but he refused to bend to the storm that hung over his head till it was too late to recede. Deceived by false intelligence, and traitorous companions, he had still clung to the vain hope of seeing better days, until he was surrounded and overwhelmed by those enemies whom he had so long and so gallantly opposed.

In this dilemma most of the chiefs took advantage of the proffered protection of Beauharnois, and joined a large party of Tyrolese emigrants at Warasdin. But Hofer persisted in his refusal to accompany them, and when they had all deserted him, suddenly disappeared, retiring to a place of concealment in the moun-

tains of his native valley, where he remained for some time undiscovered in spite of the active search that was made after him, and the reward that was offered for his head. Haspinger escaped through the Munsterthal to the Grisons; and Speckbacher, who, deceived by Hofer's orders and proclamations, remained under arms for some time, and made several attempts to oppose the enemy, was driven back from every position, and by degrees deserted by all his companions. General Deroy offered a large reward for the apprehension of his person; but after encountering innumerable difficulties, and meeting with the most extraordinary adventures, he succeeded in escaping to Austria. Kolb also, after remaining in arms so long as he was able to collect any force, followed the steps of Speckbacher, accompanied by twelve companions, and arrived in safety at Vienna.

At the beginning of December there were but few peasants in arms; here and there indeed some few straggling parties of desperate men, who had nothing to lose, and who hoped to profit by partial plunder, were still to be seen; but these too had lost their leaders, and resembled rather gangs of banditti than the remains of the once victorious army of the Tyrolese patriots. Baraguay d'Hilliers, however, who had laboured hard to restore tranquillity to the

country, was vexed at the continuance of the partial appearance of insurrection, and on the 9th of December published a proclamation, which ought not to be omitted.

"TYROLEANS!

"As I advanced with the French army into your country I found you in arms; I believed that you had been seduced from your duty, but that you were not then guilty, and I felt convinced that you would lay down those arms as soon as you were informed of the contents of the treaty of peace, which promised you pardon on that condition.

"Touched by the generosity of my sovereign, the Emperor, I have acted towards you with the greatest clemency. I did not punish those who opposed me at Mulbach and Meran. Those same French whom you are so eager to destroy, have respected your villages, your women, and your property. The Pusterthal, the Vintschgaw, and the Passeyrthal, which were the scenes of your most obstinate fury, teem with examples of the moderation of the French. But while I relied upon the oaths of those amongst you who were inclined to take advantage of my peaceful offers, some traitors who depended only on the war, who had nothing to sacrifice and nothing to lose, persuaded the inhabitants of the district

of Brixen, to take up arms again, although their pardon was only on condition of their tranquillity. These were attacked, conquered and dispersed, and their houses, which were soiled by crime, burnt to the ground. Tyroleans! let this dreadful example be a warning to you. There will yet be many who will seek to seduce you, but spare me the pain of being obliged to punish you. And you freeholders, magistrates, and ministers of God, combine yourselves against these bands of disturbers; I desire nothing of you but that you will remain quietly at home; your property, your persons, your religion, laws, customs and prejudices shall all be respected; but those who have broken their words shall be deservedly punished. For the sake of yourselves remain faithful to your words, and trust in God and the Emperor Napoleon.

"BARAGUAY D'HILLIERS."

"*Botzen, December* 9, 1809."

On the 22d of December several of the Tyrolese chiefs were shot, for having borne arms after the publication of this proclamation.

The sudden disappearance of Hofer in the mean time had given rise to innumerable contradictory rumours and conjectures. Many believed that he had followed the example of

Speckbacher and his companions, and escaped over the mountains into Austria, and they expected to hear intelligence of him soon from that quarter; others were persuaded that he had actually been seen at Vienna; and some few rightly conjectured that he was concealed in the Tyrol. The place of his concealment, in which he remained from the end of November to the end of the month of January following, was a solitary Alpine hut, four long leagues distant from his own home, at times inaccessible from the snow which surrounded it; a few faithful adherents supplied him from time to time with the food that was necessary for himself and his family, and more than once he was visited by confidential messengers from the Emperor of Austria, who used every entreaty to make him quit his abode and follow them to Austria, assuring him at the same time a safe conduct through the enemy's army. But Hofer steadily refused all their offers, and expressed his determination never to abandon either his country or his family. He adhered tenaciously to all his old attachments and habits, and even resisted the urgent entreaties of his friends, who endeavoured to persuade him to cut off his beard, from an apprehension that it would lead to a discovery of his person. At length, the traitor

Donay, once his intimate friend, allured by the flattering promises of the French, basely persuaded a man who had been entrusted with the secret, to betray him to Baraguay d'Hilliers, and Captain Renouard, of the 44th Regiment, was appointed to the command of 1600 men to take him prisoner. Besides this force, which appears enormous when we consider that it was intended merely for the capture of one unfortunate man, who, situated as he was, could not hope to defend himself, 2000 more were ordered to be in readiness to assist them, so fearful were they of some attempt being made to rescue him.

The column began their march at midnight over ice and snow, and at 5 o'clock in the morning of the 20th of January Hofer and his family were made prisoners. It was dark when the French approached the hut, but as soon as he heard the officer enquire for him he came intrepidly forward and submitted to be bound.

He was then marched, together with his wife, his daughter, and his son, who was 12 years old, through Meran to Botzen, amidst the shouts of the French soldiery, and the tears of his countrymen. At Botzen he met with kinder treatment; Baraguay d'Hilliers gave orders that he should be removed to a more commodious prison, and that less rigour should be used

against him. The French officers also did all in their power to alleviate the pain of his confinement by such attentions as it was in their power to bestow, in return for the kindness with which he had always treated his prisoners. While at Botzen he requested forgiveness of several persons whom he feared he had offended, but was answered only by their tears; and having parted with his family, whom he was fated never to see again, he was hurried off under a strong escort to Mantua.

From his long confinement, in his miserable retreat, and his coarse food, his appearance was much altered, and his hair had become more grey; but his spirit was as untamed as ever, and his countenance in the midst of the gloom which surrounded him, preserved to the last the same expression of cheerfulness and serenity. He did not however expect the sentence which was passed upon him, but continued to hope that his innocence, and the justice of his cause would protect him.

On his arrival at Mantua a court-martial was immediately holden for the purpose of trying him, of which General Bisson, then Governor, was appointed President; on comparing the votes a great difference of opinion was found to prevail as to the nature of his sentence; the

majority were for confinement; two had the courage to vote for his entire deliverance; but a telegraph from Milan decided the question, by decreeing death within twenty-four hours, thus putting it out of the power of Austria to render him any assistance.

Berthier, who was then at Vienna, excited universal indignation by the hypocritical manner in which he affected to pity him; he ventured even to affirm that it would cause great pain to Napoleon, who would never have permitted such a proceeding had he been aware of it. Hofer received his sentence of death with the same unshaken firmness that had marked his character throughout, and requested that a priest might be allowed to attend him, which was immediately complied with. To this priest (Manifesti) who never quitted him till the moment of his death, he delivered his last adieu to his family, conversed with him of the Tyrolese war, with great eagerness, and constantly expressed his confidence that the Tyrol would sooner or later return to the government of Austria.

The fatal morning of his execution now arrived. As the the clock struck 11 the generale sounded, a battalion of grenadiers was drawn out, and the officers who were to attend the execution entered his prison. As he came from

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thence he passed by the barracks on the Porta Molina, in which the Tyrolese were confined; all who were there fell on their knees, put up their prayers and wept aloud. Those who were at large in the citadel assembled on the road by which he passed, and approaching as near as the escort permitted them, threw themselves on the ground and implored his blessing. This Hofer gave them, and then begged their forgiveness for having been the cause of their present misfortunes, assuring them at the same time that he felt confident they would once again return under the dominion of the Emperor Francis, to whom he cried out the last "vivat" with a clear and steady voice. He delivered to Manifesti, the priest, every thing he possessed, to be distributed amongst his countrymen; this consisted of 500 florins in Austrian bank notes, his silver snuff-box, and his beautiful rosary; a few moments before his death he also delivered to this faithful attendant his small silver rosary, which he constantly carried about him.

On the broad bastion, at a little distance from the Porta Ceresa, the commanding officer halted his men. The grenadiers formed a square open in the rear; twelve men and a corporal stepped forward, while Hofer remained standing in the centre. The drummer then offered him a white

handkerchief to bind his eyes, and told him that it was necessary to kneel down, but Hofer declined the handkerchief, and peremptorily refused to kneel, observing, " that he was used to stand upright before his Creator, and in that posture he would deliver up his spirit to him." He cautioned the corporal to perform his duty well, at the same time presenting him with a piece of twenty kreutzers, and having uttered a few words by way of farewell, expressive of his unshaken attachment to his native country, he pronounced the word " Fire" with a firm voice. His death, like that of Palm, was not instantaneous, for on the first fire he sunk only on his knees; a merciful shot, however, at last dispatched him. The spot on which he fell is still considered sacred by his countrymen and companions in arms.

His body, instead of being allowed to remain for some time on the place of execution, as was usual on such occasions, was borne by the grenadiers on a black bier to the church of St. Michael, where it lay in state, and a guard of honour appointed to watch it, that the people might see that the much dreaded Barbone (or General Sanvird as the French used to call him) was really no more. The funeral then took place, and by the solemnity with which it was con-

ducted, it appeared as if the French were anxious to compensate for the injury they had done him when alive, by the honours they paid to him now dead. His family were permitted to depart for Austria, and the Emperor immediately gave them a pension of 2000 florins, and a sum of money to enable them to settle; but his widow could not prevail upon herself to abandon her native country, and in spite of the offers made to her by the Court of Austria, preferred returning to her old habitation in the valley of Passeyr. His son was also handsomely provided for.

Thus perished Hofer in the prime of life. Amidst the numerous crimes that stain the name of Napoleon, there is not one of a deeper dye than the murder of Hofer. With all his faults, all his irresolution, and contradictory conduct, when we reflect that Hofer was a simple, uneducated village innkeeper, who opposed for some time with success the enormous power of France and Bavaria, with an army of undisciplined peasants, we cannot contemplate his conduct without astonishment and admiration. It is true that his name will not occupy a conspicuous place in the page of general history; but in his own country, by those who knew and could estimate his merits, as well as by those who had experienced his power or his kindness, it will never be forgotten.

By his companions and countrymen, he was regarded as the hero, the saviour of his country. His faults were forgotten in his victories; and his name is never mentioned in the Tyrol at this day without tears of grateful affection and admiration.

A simple tomb has been erected to his memory on the Brenner, at a short distance from his own habitation; it contains no other inscription than his name, and the dates of his birth and death. The record of his actions is left to be transmitted, as it doubtless will be, to the latest posterity, in the popular stories and rude ballads of the mountaineers, who love and revere his name as a model of disinterested loyalty and devoted attachment to his native land.

THE END.

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